

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>



Space in Greek tragedy

Kampourelli, Vassiliki

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT



Unless another licence is stated on the immediately following page this work is licensed

under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International

licence. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

You are free to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

SPACE IN GREEK TRAGEDY

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF Ph.D.

By VASSILIKI KAMPOURELLI

KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

2002



ABSTRACT

My thesis intends to present a reasoned and critical application of semiotic models to Greek tragic space, consequently, to reappraise certain aspects of the tragic texts themselves and, in particular, to illuminate the semantics of space, that is, the ways in which space may contribute to the creation of meaning. The introductory first chapter, after discussion of the categories and terminology of space suggested by theatre semioticians, formulates a provisional model appropriate to the examination of space in Greek tragedy. The second chapter considers the architectural space of tragedy with particular reference to the ways in which it finds expression in the theatre of Dionysos in Athens. Drawing widely on the works of Aiskhylos, Sophokles and Euripides, the third chapter offers a thematic analysis of the proposed categories of tragic space-performance, dramatic, narrative and lyric- and examines their interactions. A pragmatic application of the model argued in the first and third chapters is then attempted in three case studies, which form the subject of chapters four, five and six. Each of these three chapters is, respectively, a detailed consideration of the spatial dynamics and semantics of selected parts of Aiskhylos' *Persai*, Euripides' *Hippolytos* and Sophokles' *Philoktetes*. In the discussion of these exemplifying cases, I propose a number of solutions to or new views of disputed and controversial issues relating to their theatrical realization. The conclusion locates the analysis of these three plays within the broader frame of the appraisal of tragic space proposed in earlier chapters.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	4-5
Chapter 1: Introduction	6-27
Chapter 2: The Archaeology of the theatre of Dionysos	28-65
Chapter 3: Tragic space	66-104
Chapter 4: <i>Persai</i>	105-131
Chapter 5: <i>Hippolytos</i>	132-163
Chapter 6: <i>Philoktetes</i>	164-192
Conclusions	193-201
Appendix I: Spaces in Aiskhylos, Sophokles and Euripides: a comparison between <i>Khoephoroi</i> , <i>S.Elektra</i> and <i>E.Elektra</i>	202-206
Appendix II: Time	207-212
Appendix III: Glossary of Semiotic Terms	213-221
Bibliography	222-240
 <u>Tables</u>	
Table 1	8
Table 1a	9
Table 2	12
Table 3	17
Table 4	207
 <u>Diagrams and figures</u>	
Diagram 1	30
Diagram 2	35
Diagram 3	45
Fig. 1	46
Fig. 2	47
Fig. 3	114
Fig. 4	114

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to the supervisor of my thesis, Bernard Gredley, who has guided my research with great patience and unfailing enthusiasm. His stimulating comments and helpful suggestions for improvements were extremely useful for me. His support at all stages of my PhD has been invaluable and gave me strength to go on.

Professor M.Silk as my second supervisor was always willing to generously give up his time and read parts of this thesis at various stages of my research as well as the final version of it. I owe him my warmest thanks. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr N.Lowe who supervised my work for a term during Mr Gredley's absence and continued reading my work and offering me constructive feedback with his wide range of knowledge.

I am also very grateful to Professor G.Waywell and his supervisee Miss M. Tsakoumaki for reading the chapter on the archaeology of the theatre of Dionysos and for offering me advice and very useful comments. Without the encouragement of Dr N.Yaari and Dr F.Macintosh who commented on the first chapter of this thesis, its completion would have been extremely difficult. Apart from reading an earlier version of the fourth chapter, Dr I.Lada-Richards has given me tireless support. Dr C.Morgan as the postgraduate tutor helped me immensely in all administrative issues.

Professor R.Rehm offered me generously a draft of the introduction of his forthcoming book entitled: *The Play of Space: Spatial Transformations in Greek tragedy* (Princeton, forthcoming 2002), so that I could take it into account in my thesis. Professor M.Paschalis very kindly sent me an offprint of his article on 'Σκηνικός και δραματικός χώρος στην *Ελένη* του Ευριπίδη'. I would also like to thank cordially the staff of the library of the Institute of Classical Studies, especially Miss S.Willets, and the Archive of performances of Greek and Roman Drama at Oxford for offering me the opportunity to use their material, and especially Miss A.Wingley for her kind support. Professor A.Kuhrt also kindly helped with bibliographic advice on Persian tombs. I have also greatly benefitted from the discussion following papers based on chapters of this thesis. I also thank the architects P.Papageorgiou and S.Papapetros for discussions about the shape of the *orkhestra*.

A special word of thanks to Professor I-Th.Papademetriou whose inspiring lectures during my undergraduate studies opened a new world to me. As my supervisor for IKY and beyond this official role his encouragement and assistance have been invaluable. I also wish to thank Professor S.Kourousis and Dr P.Fanaras without whose support I would not have felt able to come to the UK to pursue postgraduate studies.

My research would not have began and completed without the financial support of the Greek State Scholarship Foundation for the first two and a half years of my thesis, the British Academy for the fees of the third year, and a grant from the Lilian Boudouri Foundation for the final stages of it. Mrs Metaxa, Mrs Triviza and Mr Nikolakis have willingly helped with issues related to these Foundations. The Hellenic Foundation generously contributed towards the printing expenses of the thesis.

The journey 'through space' has been an enjoyable and challenging experience which combined both pleasant and difficult moments. Both were shared with close friends. Dr E.Kornarou, Dr P.Seranis, D.Papadi, I.Karatzoulas being in the same field of research with me, offered me unfailing support both academic and personal. My warmest thanks to M.Troupi for her friendship all these years. T.Dionysopoulou, B.Demirtas, A.Farouk, Dr K.Jauren, Dr F.Lorenzato, S.Kumar, S.Bauer, M.Empis, O.Gioka, K.Zielina, H.Reid, M.Campell, D.Beraki, D.Ward and P.Chan, G.Mastorakis have always supported me. To all my neighbours and friends these years whose names are not included here but are inscribed in my heart I owe my warmest thanks for their care.

Above all, however, I owe the biggest and deepest thanks to my parents whose support, especially these past months, has been more than precious. To them and my relatives a heartfelt thanks.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

'Le théâtre est déjà, dans toutes ses manifestations, espace; il est un certain mode d'organisation de l'espace'.

Anne Ubersfeld¹

It is a prerequisite for the analysis of space in fifth-century Greek tragedy both to isolate recurrent types of space and to synthesise them in what appears to be the most appropriate model.² The aim of this chapter is thus twofold: first, to present the terms which I will use in relation to those which have been suggested by modern scholars, drawing widely on the work done in the area of the semiotics of drama in general and, second, to organise the suggested categories of tragic space taking into account, where appropriate, the categorisations proposed by these scholars.³ The dynamic intermingling of the proposed kinds of tragic space and their semantics- that is, the ways in which space creates meaning- are examined in detail in chapters 3-6.

The semiotics of performance examines theatre as systems of signs (organised in oppositions, an influence of structuralism) focusing on the meaning which they create.⁴ The dualism explicit in this approach and its emphasis on signification has, however, provoked serious criticism.⁵ My aim is not to apply semiotics of drama mechanically to tragic space or rigidly to fit the mapping of spatial meaning into this, or any, theoretical model. Given the peculiarities of tragedy, my interest rather lies in the meaning created by the opposing kinds of space in the manner emphasised in traditional semiotic criticism, *and* in the semantics of their interactions.⁶ Therefore, the view of tragic space explored here

¹ Ubersfeld, 1996, 50.

² For the notion of space see Rehm, 2002, Appendix I. For the problems inherent in proposing a taxonomy of space see McAuley, 24.

³ The definitions of the terms in bold in this chapter are explained in Appendix III.

⁴ Honzl, 270, a pioneer of semiotic theory, stresses that 'the stage has no other function than to stand for something else'. For a brief summary of the history of semiotics see Martin & Sauter, 45-52. Sauter, 23-4, examines structuralism and semiotics together under 'semiotics'.

⁵ See States, 6-11, 19-29, Rehm, 2002, 1-2 (the page-references are based on the draft sent to me), Frontier, 22, Sauter, 24-6. Scolnicov, 1994, 4-6, concludes that 'the semiotic approach separates between the messages conveyed by the different 'languages''. Brandt, xxi, says that 'the deciphering of signs has produced a great many insights on a theoretical level; the practical application of these insights is perhaps still open to question'. Melrose, 3-4, argues for a 'new semiotics' judging that semiotic analysis 'remains valid for certain aspects only of theatre practice'.

⁶ My approach thus attempts to address the weakness detected by Rehm, 2002, 1-2, namely that semiotics suffers 'from a proliferation of competing sets of spaces' and (in his criticism of

is not confined to its examination as a static notion in which the boundaries between categories are rigid but extends to its role as a changing, malleable element of the performance ('dynamics of space').⁷ Space is also inseparable from time but, because of the limited scope of this thesis, the discussion of time is reserved for Appendix II.⁸

The choice of semiotics as the model principally discussed here derives from its concern with semantics which, in my view, offers especially fruitful insights in the investigation of tragic space. It does not imply a lack of regard for other theoretical models or frameworks, such as, for example, phenomenological criticism which goes further from viewing theatre as a system of signs and combines image and object, sign-vehicle and content looking for the 'essence' of things rather than sets of polarities.⁹ Moreover, semiotics was also the first theory to deal with the detailed description of the performance rather than with external parameters such as the author and to give particular attention to the dimension of space.¹⁰ A systematic examination of the applicability of semiotics to Greek tragic space is, however, lacking, since previous studies have tended to focus on different aspects or particular kinds of tragic space.¹¹

The most commonly drawn distinction in discussions of space in drama is that between spaces in which action is enacted and thus seen and ones in which it is

Edmunds' model, 1996, see table 1a) from lack of an 'understanding of dramatic action and spatial interaction'.

⁷ For the view of space as static see Esslin, 1998, 301. Altena, 309-23, argues for the polyfunctionality of sign systems but his excessive zeal for taxonomy confines performance, and space in particular, to a rather static approach. McAuley, 16, remarks that 'semiotics alone tends to reify the performance, to see it as object rather than dynamic process'.

⁸ The inseparability of time and space is implicit in terms such as 'chronotope', or 'indications of time and place'. See also Tuan, 239. For the term 'chronotope', see App.II, p.207, n.1.

⁹ For phenomenology see States, 8-47, Frontier, 29-32, Martin & Sauter, 53-59. For the contrast between semiotics and phenomenology in terms of space see Scolnicov, 1994, 5-6, Rehm, 2002, 11-12. For a brief account of the modern theoretical models see, generally, Frontier.

¹⁰ See Honzl, 273.

¹¹ Wiles, 1997, offers a brief account of theories of space and analyses the performance space in Greek tragedy under cultural spatial practices and structuralistic binary oppositions which he considers reconcilable. His approach to tragic space in its socio-cultural context continues in Wiles, 2000, 89-127. Kuntz, 1993, examines setting with connection to earlier narrative forms. Yaari, 1995b, 1-11, presents an interesting analysis of tragic space in *Agamemnon* based on dramatic and scenic axes and their meaning. Cf. Yaari, 1995a, 94-110, for the mapping of dramatic action to scenic space in *Hepta*. Edmunds, 1996, 15-38, discusses the relationship between theatre and text in semiotics- drawing too much on Artaud- and deals with a semiotics of spectacle rather than space. Rehm, 2002, takes a different approach and uses Gibson's perceptual realism, Foucault's *heterotopia* and Lewin's hodological connectedness for the analysis of tragic space. Lowe, 2000, 164-79, analyses space and time in the frame of narrative and plot.

narrated and thus invisible.¹² Though useful, this distinction is incomplete because it is based on the text and its words, rather than on the performance event as it is realised in a particular theatre by the actors. Thus, the interaction between the space where the performance takes place and the dramatic locations does not receive particular attention. A more plausible working model, and the one from which the following discussion begins, is based on a threefold division of performance (or physical) space, dramatic space (generated by enactment of the text) and reported space (that is, the space created as the location of reported action). This categorisation has the advantage of recognising the interrelationships between the text and its theatrical realisation.

For reference, the following tables (1-1a) present some alternative terms used in recent discussions of space in semiotics of modern drama (table 1) and in recent accounts of tragic space (table 1a):¹³

<i>This thesis</i>	<i>performance</i>	<i>dramatic</i>	<i>reported</i>
Elam	theatrical space, fixed-featured	dramatic	---
Issacharoff ¹⁴	architectural- scenographic	dramatic (mimetic)	dramatic (diegetic)
Scolnicov 1994	theatre space	theatrical space (within)	theatrical space (without)
Pavis 1996	theatrical space	dramatic	---
Ubersfeld 1996	theatrical place	dramatic	imaginary extra-scenic space
McAuley ¹⁵	theatre space	onstage fictional place	offstage fictional place

1. Table of terms used in semiotics of modern drama

¹² For further discussion of this distinction see Scolnicov, 1987, 12-17, Scolnicov, 1994, 4-5 (perceived- conceived space), McAuley, 23. Donahue, 84-97, suggests the binary opposition of perceptual and verbal space.

¹³ Table 7a offers a representative selection of terms based on works from 1980 onwards. For the 'terminological minefield' and her complex suggested model see McAuley, 17-35. Her account includes all the important recent studies of space but omits Pfister, 19-21, 246-72, who offers a rather traditional but detailed analysis of all dimensions of space. I have also omitted references to Pfister because his book was originally published before 1980.

¹⁴ Issacharoff suggests exactly the same typology in both 1981 and 1989, 56-57, and this is the reason I do not distinguish between the two.

¹⁵ I include a sample of McAuley's taxonomy of spatial functions, even though she does not follow a clearly semiotic approach. Since her model is very complex, I include here only the categories which have some correspondence to the categories suggested by the other scholars.

Edmunds 1996	theater space/ stage space	dramatic (mimetic)	dramatic (diegetic)
Edmunds 2001	physical space (theater-stage)	verbal or dramatic (deictic)	verbal or dramatic (diegetic)
Yaari 1995b	scenic space	dramatic space	
Rehm 2002	theatrical	scenic	extra-scenic/ distanced
Lowe 2000	---	primary reported	secondary reported
Paschalis		σκηνικός	εξωσκηνικός
Wiles 1997	No straightforward theatrical/ scenic/ dramatic segmentation ¹⁶		

1a. Terms used in studies of tragic space

Performance space

'Performance space' is the physical space of tragedy. This includes the building, its division into performance area (the term I use for the area which the actors and the chorus occupy) and auditorium, and the ways the former is specified and filled by scenography, objects and, especially, by the performers.¹⁷ Recent semiotic accounts distinguish between the static theatre-building (the **architectural space**, following Issacharoff's term) and the use of this space actively during the play by the performers (which I call 'actor's space').¹⁸ However, in this thesis these will not be treated as distinct kinds of spaces but as subcategories of performance space. **Architectural space** received such particular attention in previous studies that the analysis of performance space was usually confined to it without any discussion of its activation by the actors.¹⁹

¹⁶ Wiles, 1997, 18, rejects the separation into kinds of spaces: 'it becomes hard to isolate a 'dramatic' or 'diegetic' space that is not simultaneously part of the 'scenic' or 'mimetic' space'... we have to lay aside any straightforward theatrical/scenic/dramatic segmentation'. Rehm, 2002, 24-5, distinguishes two further kinds of space, the 'self-referential or metatheatrical' and the 'reflexive'.

¹⁷ According to Issacharoff, 1981, 217, the elements of space are the decor, the properties, the costumes and the body of the actor. This scheme partially recalls Ubersfeld's model, 1996, 74, in which the theatrical space 'is constructed- on the basis of an architecture, a (pictorial) view of the world, or a space sculpted essentially by the actors' bodies'. Each time one of them is predominant (the translation of Ubersfeld, 1996, and Pavis, 1996, is mine).

¹⁸ I think that in the case of tragedy it is better to use the word 'performers' instead of actors to include the chorus. However, I use the term 'actors' because this is the commonly used term in modern accounts of performances- which usually analyse contemporary drama where there is no chorus- so that the comparison with them becomes easier.

¹⁹ Elam, 62-3, uses the term 'fixed-feature' space and Issacharoff, 1981, 212, the term 'architectural' space after a summary of previous accounts focusing on theatre-buildings. McAuley, 22, criticises the lack in Issacharoff's model of a kind of space to account for the input

The actor's space, however, is a significant aspect of performance space. Most recent scholars treat the space which is energised by the actors as a separate category called 'ludic' or 'gestural' space.²⁰ In these approaches *kinesics*, or gestural signing, is the main object of research, since the movements of the actors can be observed in performance.²¹

I began my analysis with performance space because, theoretically, it is the least controversial kind of space, since in contemporary productions it is visible and thus easily accessible. Semioticians seem to privilege this kind of space, which is either a matter of documentary record or can, without difficulty, be imaginatively re-created and analysed for a readership with a shared socio-theatrical culture.²² However, tragedy, being an 'absent' performance, can be approached only on a textual basis and performance space in both its dimensions (architectural- actor's spaces) cannot in general be safely reconstructed from the texts.²³ The architectural space of tragedy- at least for the first production of the majority of plays- is determined by the theatre of Dionysos, whose actual details are contested.²⁴ The 'actor's space', defined by the part of the performance area which each performer occupies and his position relative to other performers (*proxemics*) is constantly changing as part of the complex dynamic that makes up the entire space of the play.²⁵ However, while it is easily analysed in detail in the case of modern performances, in Greek tragedy the evidence for the actors'

of actors and the particular *mise-en-scène*. Ubersfeld, 1996, 52, prefers the term 'theatrical place' which I will avoid because of the confusion with *theatrical space*, which is a different kind of space (see p.19, n.65 below). Because of the complexity of the term 'theatrical space', I avoid the suggestion by Rehm, 2002, 20-1. Edmunds, 1996, 24, follows Issacharoff's 'theater space' but this is another term with complex meanings in semiotics, see Appendix III.

²⁰ The space created by actors' movements and interactions is called *gestural* by Pavis, 1996, 141, while Ubersfeld, 1996, 70-1, uses the term 'ludic'. McAuley, 29, 90-125, introduces the terms 'presentational space' (which partially elides Pavis' 'stage space' and 'gestural space') and, in particular for the actors, the 'energised space'- including, however, in both the entrances and exits which in my model belong to the interaction between narrative and dramatic space. See chapter 3, pp.90-8.

²¹ My definition of 'kinesics' differs from Fischer-Lichte, 30, who subdivides kinesic signs into groups of gestural and proxemic signs. Pearson, 150-1, uses additionally the term 'haptics' which he defines as 'touch of self and others during interpersonal contact'. Kinesics and haptics are of interest in my analysis only when they lead to a new configuration of space.

²² An exception is Issacharoff, 1989, 56-7, who focuses mainly on dramatic space. However, he is criticised for this in McAuley, 22.

²³ De Marinis, 64, argues that 'absent' (performance) 'designates performances where no access to direct and/ or indirect viewing is possible for the scholar/ audience member'.

²⁴ For reconstructions of the theatre of Dionysos see chapter 2, pp.28-58 below.

²⁵ This view of space contrasts with Esslin's argument, 1998, 301, which claims that the 'stage' (the performance area in my terms) 'whatever shape it takes,...is static, it remains constantly and unmoving in front of, or around, the spectator'. Ley-Ewans, 78, use 'blocking' as 'developing position and movements for the actors which give full visual expression to the meaning of the text'. For the dynamic representation of space in theatre see Bonnafé, 75.

gestures and movements securely indicated by the texts is scarce.²⁶ Thus, one cannot focus on the actor as much as semiotic analysis does.

Most semiotic-oriented analyses rely on the spectator and his reception of the performance.²⁷ The increasing importance given by modern authors to the role of the spectator may be related to the tendency to privilege the performance space, since every aspect of performance is necessarily aimed at its audience. Thus, the auditorium receives particular attention in such analyses (in which, for example, questionnaires are created for the spectators).²⁸ However, the 'performance area' occupied by the performers (actors-chorus) is the main focus of interest in this thesis because it is impossible to reconstruct and examine the response to tragedy of audiences in the fifth century BC in the ways available to semioticians in the case of modern productions.²⁹ This is the reason why a separate category of space including both sub-spaces (performance area- auditorium), which is commonly used by semioticians, is not useful in my analysis.³⁰ Thus, the focus of this thesis is mainly on the area in which the play was performed and especially on the spatial relationships between inanimate objects (building-props) and animate bodies (performers), even though the auditorium is not excluded from my analysis.³¹

The terms in recent discussions used to denote the performance area (actors-chorus) and the performance space (actors-chorus-auditorium) are as follows:³²

²⁶ See chapter 3, p.76, n.63.

²⁷ See, for example, Pavis, 1998, 117 under **dramatic space** for the creation of dramatic space by each spectator. For an account of the semioticians focusing on the spectator see Sauter, 25, n.10. For Pavis' contribution see also Paavolainen.

²⁸ See, for example, Helbo, 1991, 165-173 (a collaboration of Ubersfeld, Helbo, Pavis).

²⁹ Comedy, on the contrary, includes clear address to the audience and references to its reactions to the performance. See, for example, Taplin, 1986, 166, McLeish, 86-9, Lowe, 1988, 40. Constraints of space mean that, in this and following chapters, I generally avoid enlarging the scope of my discussion to include comedy, even though its performance space was shared with tragedy.

³⁰ See for example, Fischer-Lichte, 15. Ubersfeld, 1996, 50, uses the term '**theatrical space**' in its internal relation (within the theatrical building, that is, between audience and actors). Elam, 64, uses the term '**informal space**'. The term '**performance space**' is defined by Pavis, 1982, 155 and McAuley, 26, as the space of stage and auditorium.

³¹ I deal with the auditorium in the discussion of the transverse axis in pp.24-5 below, cf. chapter 3, pp.79-81. However, I do not create a particular category of tragic space for the audience as Rehm's, 2002, 24-5, '**reflexive space**' which emerges 'when tragedy takes on a strongly fifth-century flavor, or a speaker alludes to contemporary political concerns, or when the theater evokes other public spaces, like the Athenian law courts or the assembly'. For the consideration of the city which surrounds the theatre in accounts of space in drama see, for example, McAuley, 24-5, Ubersfeld, 1996, 50. For the relationship between stage and audience area in tragedy as viewed by theorists of drama see Fischer-Lichte, 99. Cf. Helbo, 49, Schechner, 163.

³² The definition of the term '**performance space**' which I have given above (p.9) includes other aspects than simply the physical area of the *orkhestra*, *skene*-building and auditorium but I use it here to avoid introducing a new term only for reasons of schematisation.

<i>This thesis</i>	<i>performance area</i> (actors-chorus)	<i>performance space</i> (actors-chorus- audience)
Ubersfeld 1996	scenic space /scenic place	theatrical space (internal)
Elam		informal space
Pavis 1998 Pavis 1982	stage space	scenographic/theatre performance space
Fischer-Lichte	stage space	
McAuley	presentational space	performance space
Issacharoff	scenographic space	

Table 2

Performance area (actors-chorus)

As is apparent from the above table, the term 'scenic space' (translated normally in English as **stage space**) is used mainly rather than 'performance area' which I have suggested.³³ The difference is basically terminological rather than taxonomical. In Greek tragedy the performance area is not confined to a 'stage' but includes the *orkhestra*. The term 'scenic space/ stage space' might be assumed to refer only to the area reserved for the actors and to neglect the *orkhestra*, fundamental in a consideration of tragic space.³⁴ This is why the term 'performance area' (such as 'performers' than 'actors') for tragedy is preferable so as to avoid implicit exclusion of the chorus.

Another difficulty raised by Ubersfeld's 'scenic space' is whether 'scène' would include- in the case of Greek tragedy- the *skene*-building and the acting platform in front of the building (a low raised stage which I accept for the fifth-century theatre).³⁵ The term 'performance area' avoids this possible confusion.

³³ Ubersfeld, 1996, 53, and Pavis, 1996, 140, use the term 'scenic space' (l'espace scénique). But see McAuley, 22, for the lack of clear distinction between Pavis' scenic space (translated as stage space in Pavis, 1998) and his 'playing area' (lieu scénique). Rehm, 1999-2000, 365, 2002, 21, uses scenic space as an equivalent of setting. Rehm, 2002, n.112, criticises Wiles, 1997, 16, for 'failing to acknowledge the priority of theatrical space, the fictional quality of scenic space and the way that scenic space can change over the course of a play'.

³⁴ Cf. Yaari, 1995b, 10, n.8, who also regards the term 'stage space' as misleading when dealing with ancient Greek theatre.

³⁵ See chapter 2, pp.52-8.

The distinction between forms of stage is another problematic area in applying Ubersfeld's terminology to ancient Greek tragedy.³⁶ It is difficult to argue whether the performance area is **platform** or **proscenium**-like. Ubersfeld claims that in the latter the main characteristic is that the events taking place on the stage appear homogeneous with the real world.³⁷ By contrast, what matters in the platform stage is the acting itself and the materiality of the stage; for this reason the activities of the actors are termed 'ludic', that is, the focus of attention is rather on the actor's art than on the character who is impersonated by the actor.³⁸ What distinguishes these two forms of stage is the nature of the act of representation. Continuity of representation is achieved through the homogeneity of the dramatic world with the real one in the former and through the actor in the latter. However, distinctions of this kind are, in my view, unhelpful when applied to Greek tragic space. The focus on the actor *per se* is not a characteristic of tragedy and thus the notion of the platform stage is not helpful in the analysis of the tragic performance.³⁹ The homogeneity between dramatic and real worlds, on the other hand, which is characteristic of the proscenium-stage, implies a continuity of uniform representation which is foreign to Greek tragedy. An important reason for this lack of apparent continuity is the existence of the chorus. The distinction between forms of stage has its root in the post-Greek tragic Western theatre in which there is no chorus and thus involves retrojection of later forms to Greek tragic space. In Greek tragedy the chorus, however, plays a significant role. The continuity of the representation is achieved in a different manner than suggested by the polarities of platform or proscenium theatre. Choral odes may 'freeze' the dramatic action and seem to disturb the continuity of its representation but they actually offer deeper and broader perspectives of the enacted events, which continue after them without interruption because of the audience's familiarity with this alternating pattern. Furthermore, the construction of the Greek performance space (*orkhestra*- *skene*-building- stage), irrespective of the existence or not of a raised stage, does not imply a focus on a 'stage' as later drama does. I would not therefore be inclined to consider this categorisation satisfactory or useful for tragedy. However, if one had to follow

³⁶ See the comments of Wiles, 1997, 15-16.

³⁷ See Ubersfeld, 1996, 55-7 and Appendix III, p.216.

³⁸ For these see Ubersfeld, 1996, 57-8. For the materiality of space see Ubersfeld, 1996, 84.

³⁹ Metatheatrical references to the actor and the performance are frequent in comedy but not in tragedy, see Lowe, 1988, 39-40.

the division between these two forms of stage, the performance area in Greek tragedy might have been closer to the proscenium stage, since the performance space represents a place in the world (despite the fact that it belongs to myth). The spatial relationship between audience and performers in Greek tragedy leads to the same conclusion. The boundaries between the world of the play and the world of the audience which are apparent in tragedy- since the audience is not explicitly acknowledged- seem to be similar, despite their differences, to those in proscenium theatres.⁴⁰ This reinforces the assumption that the form of tragic performance area is closer to the proscenium form than to the platform-like stage but does not belong entirely to either of these categories.

Scenography will be dealt with in the chapter concerning the architecture of the theatre of Dionysos.⁴¹ Although I am not inclined to accept **scenographic space** as a category or even a subcategory of space, since even the existence of painted panels is disputed for fifth-century tragedy, I examine issues which arise with regard to scenography there.⁴²

Dramatic space

Dramatic space may be defined as the complex of spatial relationships and significances generated by the text. The action in dramatic space is enacted in either visible or invisible space simultaneously with the audience's perception of the events. I consider this definition more general and complete in comparison to the definitions which have been suggested by other authors (see table 1 above).

For Issacharoff 'dramatic space' is 'the space as used by an individual dramatist'.⁴³ This phrasing seems insufficiently precise, since the dramatic space is handled in a different way in each play and not by each dramatist. Pavis defines dramatic space as the 'space of fiction'.⁴⁴ This term is very close to my

⁴⁰ Wiles, 1997, 15, also says that the audience in the proscenium theatre sit on one side, not around the stage. For the shape of the auditorium in the fifth century see chapter 2, pp.34-5. The contrast with comedy in which the boundaries between audience and performers are transcended is once more apparent. See McLeish, 86-9.

⁴¹ See chapter 2, pp.58-64.

⁴² Issacharoff's term, 1981, 212, 'scenographic space' includes the stage and is very general. See McAuley's criticism, 22. Pavis, 1998, 118, calls scenographic the 'theatre space' (actors and audience). But see McAuley, 22, for the failure to distinguish between the categories he suggests. Elam, 63, uses the term 'semi-fixed-feature' which is closer to the term 'scenography' as I use it. For the term 'scenery' see also Tuan, 241.

⁴³ Issacharoff, 1981, 212.

⁴⁴ Pavis, 1998, 118. His definition of dramatic space includes so much that, as McAuley, 23, remarks, 'its analytical potency is impaired'. McAuley, 29-32, suggests the term 'fictional place', another complex term with many subdivisions.

definition of dramatic space but I prefer to avoid the term 'fiction' which in my view does not signify the 'enactment' implicit in my definition.⁴⁵ Ubersfeld's phrase 'theatrical space at the level of text' is more precise but unwieldy.⁴⁶

The discussion of tragic space and the exemplifying cases (chapters 3-6) will be based on the textual indications of dramatic space in the plays and the ways in which this interacts with the other kinds of tragic space. This will be assisted by a vocabulary of space, that is, keywords in the text which function as markers of space (such as the dramatic identification of the *skene*-building and the *eisodoi*, indications of the relative positions of the actors, cues of entries and exits). This vocabulary differs from Ubersfeld's perception of a spatial lexicon, which seems to consist only of locality determinants viewed on a textual rather than a performative level.⁴⁷ My analysis, somewhat wider in scope, deals with the casual or emblematic meaning of the words (semantics of space) and their effect on the construction of dramatic and reported space as well as their concretisation in performance space (for example, the different descriptions of the *oikos* in *Agamemnon* as represented by the *skene*-building).⁴⁸ Thus, the synthetic approach which I propose for a vocabulary of space combines categories and views space as a unity rather than segmented into levels.⁴⁹

The interrelation between dramatic and performance space irrespective of the particulars of each play is a major area of such synthesis.⁵⁰ Dramatic space is

⁴⁵ I also think that the distinction between visible and invisible dramatic space which I make later (see pp.17-9) becomes clearer if the term 'fiction' is avoided.

⁴⁶ Ubersfeld, 1999, 106.

⁴⁷ Ubersfeld, 1999, 106-7, says that 'theatrical space at the level of the text can be defined according to a certain number of lexical determinations'. The distinction between three lists, however, segments elements which function in a unity on the grounds of schematisation, inherent in semiotics. For her spatial lexicon and the lists see Appendix III, p.219. Pavis, 1998, 183, says that 'indications of time and space' belong to the dramatic text and 'need not necessarily be translated in the staging'. Pavis, 1998, 118, claims that 'a reading suffices to give the reader a spatial image of the dramatic world'. So, they belong to dramatic space only.

⁴⁸ See chapter 3, pp.70, 83. For reported space see pp.20-1 below. Semantics is defined as the way in which language connotes meaning or, according to Chandler, the relationship of signs to what they stand for. For semantics as one of the three areas (the other two are syntactics and pragmatics) within the field of semiotics see Lyons, 114-19. For the wide and complex definition of semantics and meaning see Dillon, 24, Lyons, 1-5. The concept of sameness and difference of meaning and the systematic relations of word senses which Dillon, 3-9, presents could be paralleled to the semiotic view of theatrical signs in systems of oppositions.

⁴⁹ See Rehm, 2002, 11, for the risk of 'laboratory dissection' as a result of extreme categorising and decoding. Wiles, 1997, 22, follows a synthetic approach of space combining structuralism and spatial practices. Even though such an approach is original and innovative, it proves, at times, very speculative when applied to the tragic plays. See, for example, p.21, n.73 below. Rehm, 2002, 22, also suggests that Greeks held 'a much more interactive, permeable, and transformative notion of space than the modern scholars who study them'.

⁵⁰ McAuley, 23, rightly argues that 'the fictional, the physical reality of the stage and the dramatic or metaphoric levels do constantly interweave...but it is preferable to conceptualise the

bounded by its architecturally determined performance space, that is, the theatre of Dionysos in Athens for fifth-century tragedy. The peculiarity in Greek tragedy, in contrast to modern drama, is that the performance space was a given for the dramatist, who was both the director and in the early fifth century also an actor.⁵¹ The dramatist thus conceived his plays as performances for a particular theatre and inevitably took the resources of that theatre into account in the creation of the dramatic space of the plays. The director's choice does not differ from the author's, as in the case of modern drama, since both roles are unified in one person. The dramatic conception of Greek tragedy is thus closely bound with its scenic realisation.

Dramatic space gives meaning to performance space. Dramatic space may use performance space to project a representation of the world of the play (for example, the *skene*-building represents the palace of Trozen in *Hippolytos*). It may also invest performance space with emblematic significance (for example, the palace as a symbol of death). The performance space itself is neutral, even though, in contrast to strict structuralistic/semiotic principles, one should be alert to the possibility that the theatrical competence of the audience may have attributed some kind of semantic value to physical space even before the play began (for example, the *skene*-building might have been expected to represent a palace without further topographical details).⁵²

When a text fixes specific locations and significance to those neutral performance areas, the part of dramatic space visible to the audience becomes homotopic with performance space.⁵³ I call this 'visible dramatic space'. The relationship between performance and visible dramatic space is most frequently a one-to-one representation. Sometimes, however, visible dramatic space and performance space can be in disjunction, that is, the former is represented in such a way by the latter that it is virtually reversed. Performance space in such

interweaving elements separately and to distinguish them by name, so that they can be used in analysis to show how particular effects are achieved'.

⁵¹ See Csapo-Slater, 224-5. Arist. *Poet.* 1449a is rather elliptical; cf. *Rhet.* 1403b 23. The identification of the principal performer with the playwright seems to remain the rule until the time Sophokles quit the stage on account of his μικροφωνία, according to the *Life of Sophokles* 4.

⁵² Fischer-Lichte, 20-1, mentions that the empty space becomes what the actor states that it is. See empty space in pp.25-6 below.

⁵³ The dramatic space is not confined thus to invisible space as Pavis, 1998, 118, tends to accept (it 'can only be visualised when the spectator builds the dramatic space in his imagination').

cases becomes an ironic representation of the visible dramatic space.⁵⁴ Table 3 indicates the semiotic terms which correspond to visible dramatic space and their counterparts denoting invisible spaces and their terminology.

<i>This thesis</i>	<i>visible dramatic space</i>	<i>invisible spaces</i> <i>(invisible dramatic-reported space)</i>
Ubersfeld 1999	(on) stage	off stage
Issacharoff	mimetic (dramatic) space	diegetic (dramatic) space
Lowe 2000	primary	secondary

Table 3

The term '**mimetic**' is used by Issacharoff for what I call 'visible dramatic space'.⁵⁵ Mimetic, however, implies the space which appears as an icon of the real world or intensely represents an imagined reality.⁵⁶ Tragedy does not represent everyday life and contemporary events (as, for example, comedy and, especially, new comedy does) but the visible dramatic space is, normally, an image of the mythical world. Thus mimetic in the above sense is not an entirely appropriate term for an analysis of tragic space. In addition, mimetic is associated with the indexical function of words.⁵⁷ This notion of 'mimetic' ignores the symbolic aspect of space which I also consider important; the 'symbolic/emblematic meaning' of the elements of tragic performance space means that dramatic space is not confined only to creating a reflection of the 'mythical' world of the plays but also gives to spatial elements additional meaning different from the indexical one.⁵⁸ The symbolic enrichment of tragic space is facilitated by the fact that the represented object is mythical and not part of real, everyday life.

Scolnicov criticises Issacharoff's mimetic/ diegetic distinction arguing that when a character on stage speaks of the perceptible (visible in Issacharoff) and

⁵⁴ For the cases of disjunction between performance and dramatic space in tragedy see chapter 3, pp.72-7.

⁵⁵ Issacharoff, 1981, 216.

⁵⁶ According to Helbo, 122, icons 'are not particularly natural and purely visual signs but contain conventional elements in such a way that the iconic sign refers through its signifier, among other things, to an object, something which a symbolical sign does not do because of its arbitrary signifier'.

⁵⁷ Issacharoff, 1981, 216, says that in mimetic space the discourse acquires an indexical function.

refers to the setting or the props the on-stage space is at once both mimetic and diegetic.⁵⁹ However, her suggestion of a **theatrical space within and without** is also complicated because of the 'loaded' meaning which she attributes to **theatrical space**.⁶⁰ Wiles also rejects Issacharoff's mimetic space in the analysis of tragic space because a distinction between a 'mimetic' or 'diegetic' space and a 'scenic' or 'dramatic' space' cannot be drawn, especially in cases such as the choral odes, for which he suggests the transformation of space into a 'meta-space'.⁶¹

Wiles' principle of the break of the distinction between mimetic and diegetic spaces applies in a category of cases which he does not mention: action in invisible space which is, however, enacted. Because of its importance in tragedy this, in my view, deserves to be considered as a separate kind of space (within the wider area of dramatic space). I call it 'invisible dramatic space', which lies between visible dramatic and reported space. It is the invisible space, immediately contiguous with visible dramatic space, in which action may occur which is perceived as part of the dramatic present (through cries and sounds from there as well as comments of the visible characters).⁶² Action in this space may also be reported in which case it belongs to narrative space.⁶³

⁵⁸ For the emblematic meaning see p.15 above. This term includes both metaphor and metonymy which are often mentioned as functions of space. See, for example, Pavis, 1998, 360-1, Ubersfeld, 1991, 153.

⁵⁹ Issacharoff, 1989, 56, considers this a 'third possibility' apart from mimetic and diegetic. The same criticism applies to Edmunds, 1996, 24-6, who follows Issacharoff's model but is sceptical of Issacharoff's hierarchy of codes. McAuley, 22, makes a similar point. McAuley, 30, suggests the term 'onstage fictional space' for the space which can be physically represented or presented through the actor or simply be spoken. She includes here 'acoustic scenery', an equivalent of what other authors call word scenery.

⁶⁰ Scolnicov, 1994, 2-6. See McAuley, 21, for a criticism of Scolnicov's terminology on the grounds that onstage is both perceived and conceived and that offstage spaces which are contiguous with the onstage in some way should be separated from those that form part of the wider domain of the play's dramatic geography but are not grounded in any way in the physical arrangement of stage, set, or performance. In the former she argues that there is a combination of conceived and perceived as in the onstage, even though the emphasis varies. Cf. my 'invisible dramatic space' and the discussion about on-stage and off-stage below.

⁶¹ Wiles, 1997, 17-8, 121, but see n.73 below. The term 'mimetic' is used by Edmunds, 1996, 25-6, but rejected by Edmunds, 2001. Paschalis, 98, also notes: 'η διάκριση του δραματικού χώρου σε 'μιμητικό' και 'διηγηματικό', που πρότεινε ο Issacharoff, πέραν του ότι είναι ελλιπής και δεν προβλέπει όλα τα δεδομένα της παράστασης, υποτιμά τη δυναμική της δραματικής φαντασίας'.

⁶² See chapter 3, pp.91-2. Edmunds, 2001, makes a distinction of acoustic space on stage and off-stage dividing the latter into sounds off-stage heard by both audience and character/s and sounds off-stage heard by character/s but not by the audience. For a third subcategory, sounds off-stage heard by the audience only, he wonders whether there are examples. However, even for the first two subcategories, it is disputable what the audience actually heard. The text does not always record the sounds and we cannot know how sounds indicated in the text were actually performed. The distinction based on the audience and what they heard is therefore unsuccessful in my view.

⁶³ See pp.20-1 below.

If we do not use the proposed terms 'visible' and 'invisible' dramatic space, a common alternative terminology is 'on stage' in opposition to 'off stage'.⁶⁴ Tragic space, however, is much more complex than such distinctions may suggest because of the multidimensionality of invisible spaces, which include both invisible dramatic space and reported space with its subdivisions.⁶⁵ Ubersfeld's 'extra-scenic' seems to be primarily connected with performance space rather than dramatic space, since she draws a distinction between the playing area (acting area) and extra-scenic space.⁶⁶ Extra-scenic implies locations which are imagined to be adjacent to the *eisodoi* or the *skene*-building. Invisible spaces in tragedy can, however, be presented as being far away from the visible dramatic space. Furthermore, reported tragic space, apart from the invisible dramatic space and the narrative space of the world of the play, includes lyric space, that is, the space evoked by the chorus which is sometimes discontinuous with the world of the play and therefore beyond any physical mapping in performance space. Thus, the common distinction between on-stage and off-stage is replaced in my analysis by the following equivalences: 'performance space' means the concrete space where the performance takes place, defined by the architecture of the theatre of Dionysos, 'dramatic space' is the space related to the enactment of the text, of which visible dramatic space roughly corresponds to 'on-stage' and 'reported space' invisible space, available only through the words of actors and chorus, including 'off-stage' but wider in its signification because much of the space generated in lyric deals with subjects which are 'free' of connection with the 'stage'. This tripartite distinction is particularly appropriate in the analysis of tragic space, since it seems to offer the opportunity of approaching the text in a way which is comprehensive without being misleading.

⁶⁴ See for example, Ubersfeld, 1999, 117-8, for a distinction between 'stage' and 'off-stage'.

⁶⁵ See pp.20-1 below. See also Scolnicov, 1994, 3-4, who criticises the focus on the 'stage' and the actual performance space. I think that this is another dualism of the kind Rehm, 2002, 1, criticises as leaving the complexity of space in Greek tragedy overlooked, or unexplored. Some authors, such as Pavis, 1998, 344, Ubersfeld, 1996, 54, use the term 'theatrical space' for the dramatic and performance space together. This makes the term very wide and imprecise for an analysis of tragic space.

⁶⁶ Ubersfeld, 1991, 155. Ubersfeld, 1996, 82, uses the phrases 'imaginary extra-scenic' and, *ibid.* 83, the word 'hors-scène' but does not expand on this kind of space. The terms **primary** and

Reported space

I use the term 'reported space' for the kind of space accessible to the audience only by verbal description.⁶⁷ This space plays a particularly significant role in tragedy because it is inherited from epic poetry.⁶⁸ Reported space is divided into two subcategories: narrative and lyric space.

Narrative space includes the locations which are part of the world of the play. These are imagined to exist just behind the *skene*-façade (interior) or at the other end of the *eisodoi* as well as far away from the visible dramatic space.⁶⁹ These spaces and their interrelationships are handled freely by the dramatist and offer many opportunities for creative manipulation.⁷⁰ The activity in the narrative space of tragedy is normally converted into part of the audience's experience through reports of the events which have taken place there by the messenger or any *dramatis persona* acting as messenger (ἀγγελία).⁷¹

'Lyric space' is evoked by the chorus and usually describes parallel worlds discontinuous with the world of the play, which illuminate it or stand in contrast to it.⁷² This space is based on the wide mythic tradition available to the dramatists including but not restricted to the particular *mythos* of the play. The chorus also refers to narrative spaces in its particular allusive way which seems

secondary suggested by Lowe, 2000, 166, are based on narrative rather than space in performance and thus are not precise enough for the purposes of my analysis.

⁶⁷ I consider this space a synonym for diegetic space as Issacharoff, 1989, 55, defines it in contrast to film narratologists 'for whom diegetic means the characteristics of what is recounted'. See also Lowe, 2000, 18-9. Branigan, 35, also uses the same term for the imagined world of the story (*diegesis*). Issacharoff, 1981, 216, considers diegetic space to be the one described but not shown- the reference is confined to dramatic discourse and replaces space verbally.

⁶⁸ Lowe, 2000, 158, says that 'tragedy takes over the reins of a narrative culture that privileges the poetics of *retelling*'.

⁶⁹ Rehm, 2002, 21-3, distinguishes between 'extra-scenic' (the interior) and distanced space ('space that bears no immediate relationship to the scenic givens that provide the setting' accessible through the *eisodoi* and the roof). However, on some occasions immediacy with the visible dramatic space is also achieved with entrances through the *eisodoi*, see chapter 3, pp.97-8. For a similar taxonomy of modern performances see 'localised- and unlocalised offstage physical place' suggested by McAuley, 30-2.

⁷⁰ Issacharoff, 1981, 121, says that when the mimetic space is fixed (when a single set is used) the odds are that the diegetic space will be non-fixed, that is, to say, manifold. Lowe, 2000, 170, says that 'multiple reported lines, whether simultaneous or successive, can be accommodated by i) offstaging some events to secondary narrative, mediated back to the stage area in embedded reports; or by ii) by elaborate rotations of personnel between primary (onstage) and secondary (offstage) spaces'.

⁷¹ Edmunds, 1996, 25, divides diegetic space into 'space represented as visible to the characters on stage (not visible to the spectators) and space invisible to both the characters on stage and the spectators'. Cf. his distinction of acoustic space above, n.62. I do not consider such a distinction clear or useful. On many occasions it is impossible to know what the audience actually saw and whether the characters were pointing to something visible or not (for example, in the description of the temple in *Ion*, or the surroundings in *S.El.*), see chapter 3, pp.66, 70.

⁷² For the function of lyric spaces see chapter 3, pp.88-90.

characteristic of lyric utterance. These spaces belong to the area of intersection between narrative and lyric space.⁷³

The contrast between the importance of reported space in tragedy and comparative lack of terms referring to this kind of space in semiotics, is itself a reflex of the relative unimportance of narrative in more recent drama. Recent accounts of space include reported space in the general category of dramatic space, while the epic tradition provided Greek tragedy with models for reference to a variety of invisible locations.⁷⁴ Moreover, the conventions of the Greek tragic theatre do not in general seem to have favoured the presentation of violent or miraculous scenes in visible space which, therefore, were reported as invisible events. Thus, the need for a separate category of reported space in the analysis of tragic space derives from its essential role in tragedy.⁷⁵ The difference between the term 'reported space' proposed in this thesis and Issacharoff's 'diegetic space' is both a question of degree (there is nothing similar to the sustained narrative of Greek tragedy in modern plays) and of taxonomy (reported space in Greek tragedy is not merely a subcategory of dramatic space, as Issacharoff suggests).

As the quotation at the beginning of this chapter observes, 'theatre is, in all its manifestations space and one can define it as a certain mode of organisation of space'.⁷⁶ The focus on performance space in semiotic studies has led to an organisation of space in theatre based on the elements of this category of space and especially on the actor and the spectator.⁷⁷ I have explained above the reasons why these two may seem inappropriate as the starting point for an analysis of tragic space.⁷⁸

The area of semiotics which is arguably most useful in formulating an approach to tragedy is its analysis of space in oppositions and axes. The analysis

⁷³ See chapter 3, pp.102-3. In contrast to Wiles, 1997, 17-8, 114-32, who presupposes that the space during choral odes is transformed into a 'meta-space', I remain sceptical about this fluidity of space. The chorus dance during the odes and therefore their movements add vividness to the locations and events which are evoked but it is in my opinion far-fetched to argue that the visible dramatic space is mimetically transformed into the space to which the chorus refer.

⁷⁴ See, for example, Issacharoff, 1981, 215-20. Yaari, 1995b, Valakas, 285, n.3, also distinguish merely between scenic and dramatic space.

⁷⁵ On the important role of narrative space in tragedy see, for example, De Jong, 1991, 117-78, Lowe, 2000, 166-7, Goward, 15-20 and chapter 3, pp.85-8. On its relation to dramatic space especially in early Aiskhylean plays see chapter 3, p.99.

⁷⁶ Ubersfeld, 1996, 50. Cf. 'thematic space' suggested by McAuley, 32-3.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Ubersfeld's, 1999, 118-9, typology of theatrical spaces constructed with a) the spectator, b) the referent and c) the actor as starting points.

⁷⁸ See pp.10-11 above.

in oppositions is a characteristic feature of semiotics, which dominates the analyses of all kinds of spaces.⁷⁹ Ubersfeld in particular organises and analyses 'stage space' in co-ordinates which suggest interesting possibilities in the examination of tragic space.⁸⁰ These are:

horizontal/ vertical
 depth/ surface
 closeness/openness
 furnished (filled)/empty
 interior/exterior
 circular/rectilinear
 centred/ decentred
 continuous/broken
 homogeneous/subdivided
 imitative/neutral
 ordinary/theatricalised⁸¹

Wiles refers to the first seven oppositions and remarks only that Ubersfeld does not mention the opposition between left and right, or light and shadow (in fact she mentions lighting, but not as separate category).⁸² He also follows structuralist methodology in seeing theatre space as a set of polarities.⁸³ In this analysis, I also follow these general patterns and especially the analysis of tragic space in axes. The axes are imaginary lines constituted by the physical components of performance space as viewed by a spectator.⁸⁴

Concerning *vertical/horizontal* I suggest a meaning different from that given by recent authors to verticality.⁸⁵ When I use the term vertical, I mean the vertical axis provided mainly by the *skene*-building (roof, *skene*-building itself, area beneath the ground floor). If the raised stage is accepted, there is also a

⁷⁹ For example, see Pavis' definition of dramatic space in Pavis, 1998, 118.

⁸⁰ Ubersfeld, 1996, 79-84. Ubersfeld, 1999, 116, refers to some of these oppositions in the section of her analysis titled 'semanticized features'.

⁸¹ The last four oppositions are found only in Ubersfeld, 1991, 153, and not in Ubersfeld, 1996.

⁸² Wiles, 1997, 19. For lighting see Ubersfeld, 1996, 85-9.

⁸³ Wiles, 1997, analyses the binary oppositions of centre point and periphery, left and right (east and west), inside and outside, the vertical axis and the horizontal, sacred and accessible space, *orkhestra* and *theatron*.

⁸⁴ In contrast to Yaari's, 1995b, 1-11, dramatic and scenic axes I restrict the axes to the elements of the performance space without including invisible locations as she does.

⁸⁵ See Ubersfeld, 1996, 79-80 for the creation of verticality by elements of the backdrop or the décor and the actors or even by theatre places over-hanging the stage ('verticalité possible de lieux théâtraux, de lieux surplombant la scène'). She also mentions the verticality of the theatrical place (as physical- architectural verticality).

separation between the chorus' level (*orkhestra*) and the actors' level (stage, even though actors also used the *orkhestra*). Since, however, there could have been only a low raised stage in the fifth century, this separation of levels is not so marked as to lead us to talk about two completely distinct levels without any interaction between them and, therefore, I generally treat ground level as a single level without subdivisions.⁸⁶ The lowest part of the vertical axis (that is the Underworld) is not represented in the performance space but is a significant narrative space in tragedy. Thus, the usual scheme in tragedy is roof- ground level (actors-chorus)- area beneath the ground level.

The horizontal axis is defined by the *eisodoi*, the side entrances into performance space. Wiles rightly makes a distinction between left and right in the horizontal axis and includes in the horizontal axis the movements of the performers who are on the same level.⁸⁷ The semantics of this opposition basically depend on the specifics of the plays and are widely deployed in tragedy as expressive of meaning.⁸⁸

The opposition between *depth* and *surface* is normally perceived by modern theorists as the contrast in levels between background and foreground.⁸⁹ In the case of Greek tragedy, however, I do not believe that there is a difference of a background and foreground at least as distinctively as, for example, Ubersfeld suggests. Concerning the performance area, a separation in zones of focus of the attention of the audience which are formed by the proxemics between the performers and are not architecturally represented might be useful.⁹⁰ What may

⁸⁶ See chapter 2, pp.52-8.

⁸⁷ Wiles, 1997, 19, 133-60.

⁸⁸ Ubersfeld, 1996, 80, says that 'verticalité peut 'connoter' la hiérarchie sociale ou l'aspiration religieuse, le 'mysticisme', comme l'horizontalité peut indiquer un rapport de contact avec terre-mère, mais il serait tout à fait vain d'imaginer qu'il y a une traduction possible du signe, que le sémantisme de l'espace théâtral est lié à tel ou tel trait distinctif'. For tragic space see chapter 3, p.84.

⁸⁹ Ubersfeld, 1996, 80-1, based on modern productions, distinguishes between spaces with separate back- and foreground or one flat level. In the latter case 'la toile de fond représente un paysage sans profondeur. Cet espace privilégie: l'image, le tableau pictural; la frontalité du rapport direct du comédien au public, une adresse directe, l'espace étant projeté vers le public; pour les déplacements latéraux, une présence égale, non hiérarchisée, des éléments de la représentation;... L'espace profond, le jeu entre l'avant et l'arrière-plan supposent, quant à eux, une hiérarchisation du regard, en même temps que la construction d'un lieu qui se présente comme un morceau de réel'. Cf. Branigan, 43, for this artificial but simplifying distinction in cinema.

⁹⁰ Fischer-Lichte, 59-60, relates such zones to the proxemic signs. Esslin, 1998, 301, mentions that each spectator 'creates a sequence of close-ups and long-shots, a freely chosen 'montage' of focused images' but accepts, 304, that the 'reactions of the audience are governed by the phenomena of 'collective mass''. For the simultaneity of multiple perception see Carlson, 1998, 294-8. The ancient dramatists could not use lighting which in modern productions changes the

further be proposed, based on the elements of the performance space, is an axis, which I call 'transverse axis' through auditorium, *orkhestra* and *skene*-building with an additional area of depth when the interior is also dramatically activated.⁹¹

The activation of the interior is closely associated with the opposition between *interior* and *exterior* space which is a particular manifestation of the above opposition and the most common distinction in Greek tragedy. It is basically related to the central door which frequently assumes symbolic meaning in the plays.⁹² Even though the dramatic action takes place outside and interior scenes are normally reported, on several occasions this invisible space is perceived as an extension of the visible performance space through sounds/cries (invisible dramatic space) or a blurring between inside and outside in a restricted, conventionalised way (*ekkyklema*).⁹³ With the *ekkyklema*, action which is supposed to have taken place in the interior, namely at the deepest area of the transverse axis is projected to a physically shallower point in it (exterior) but is still perceived as an interior scene, even though the real interior never becomes visible. This blurring is very different from the common phenomenon in recent productions of representing 'the extra-scenic scenically' which, unlike the circumstances of tragic production, is normally the choice of a director who deliberately changes the text.⁹⁴

Instead of a transverse axis indicating depth, Wiles draws a distinction between *centre* and *periphery*. He interprets tragedy with the focus on the centre of the *orkhestra* and especially on the altar.⁹⁵ The notion of an axis is in my view preferable. The focus could be both on the chorus in the *orkhestra* and the actors who might have shared the *orkhestra* with the chorus or have been on a low raised stage in front of the door of the *skene*-building. The advantage of this

focus from one point to another depending on the requirements of the play. For this limitation see Webster, 1956, 3.

⁹¹ The interior gives the opportunity for true but limited physical deepening through the *ekkyklema*. See the discussion below.

⁹² See for example Lowe, 2000, 170, for the oppositions related to this distinction and chapter 3, pp.93, 96-7. For a criticism of this dualism see Rehm, 2002, 22.

⁹³ See Lowe, 2000, 173, Wiles, 1997, 162-5 and chapter 3, p.94. For invisible dramatic space see p.18 above.

⁹⁴ See Ubersfeld, 1996, 83. For the unity of the role of the ancient dramatist and the director see p.16 above.

⁹⁵ See Wiles, 1997, 63-86. Wiles, 207-21, discusses the role of the auditorium under *orkhestra* and *theatron* which is viewed here as part of the co-ordinate of openness-closeness, see p.25 below. Wiles, 57-8, refers to the north-south axis in association with religion.

suggestion is that the audience's attention is drawn to a unified line including both actors and chorus rather than to one focal point.⁹⁶

The transverse axis is also connected with another co-ordinate. Despite taking place in an open-air theatre, which offered a view of the natural surroundings, the tragic performance space is *closed*, since there is no direct address to or explicit interaction with the audience. The openness to the auditorium and the dramatic activation of the transverse axis with indications of inclusion of the audience in the dramatic action are suggested in some plays but are not sufficiently explicit to argue that the boundaries between performance area and auditorium are transcended or blurred. The issue is a disputable matter especially for parts in tragedies which have implicit political overtones, and which may have been interpreted by the fifth-century audience in the particular context of contemporary conditions (as in *Eumenides*, *Hippolytos*).⁹⁷

Another notion of openness has been proposed by Ubersfeld. This is the openness to the imaginary 'elsewhere'. Applied to Greek tragic space it includes the three entrance and exit points, that is the central door and the *eisodoi*, which function as the means to approach the reported space, the imagined space of action, that is, as bridges uniting visible dramatic and invisible spaces.⁹⁸

The distinction *full-empty* is disputable.⁹⁹ The common use of the term 'empty space', deriving from post-tragic distinctions of later theatre, is of space which is not yet identified with a dramatic location. It stands in contrast to the fullness which is expected to occur later on in the play through the dramatic identification of the physical elements of the performance space with dramatic topography. Such categorisation is, however, inadequate for Greek tragedy. In my view empty space is not confined only to the beginning of the play before the characters enter for the first time but also includes the use of objects and bodies in the performance space throughout the play. The comparative unimportance of

⁹⁶ For a discussion of the suggested focal points see chapter 2, pp.40, 49. For the need for attention on both actors and the chorus see chapter 2, pp.53-6.

⁹⁷ For the openness of the space to the auditorium see chapter 3, pp.79-81. See also p.11, n.31 above.

⁹⁸ Ubersfeld, 1996, 81, says that 'la dialectique théâtrale de l'*ici* et de l'*ailleurs*, du fictionnel et du scénique, trouve sa place dans le problème de la clôture ou l'ouverture de l'espace'. Sometimes, however, in Greek tragedy this 'elsewhere' may converge with performance space as in the end of *Eumenides*. See chapter 3, p.101.

⁹⁹ Brook even used the term 'empty space' as the title of his book in 1968. For empty tragic space see Yaari, 1995b, 3, cf. Yaari, 1995a, 94-5. Rehm, 2002, 21, viewing emptiness in terms of dramatic identification and focus rejects it, arguing that 'scenic space defines the place of a tragedy'.

furnishings in Greek theatre and the peculiarity of the space created during choral *stasima* with the withdrawal of the actors and the evocation of lyric spaces indicates that mechanical application of such a distinction to tragedy may be too simplistic to capture its variety and thus be misleading. The term 'empty space' for the beginning of tragic plays may be accepted insofar as it allows for expectations of the audience about the function of elements of the performance space, based on their theatrical competence and familiarity with tragic performances. For example, the *skene*-building with its decoration may have led the audience to identify it with a building of some kind but more specific verbal identification of the visible dramatic space as a particular location was definitely essential (the term 'word scenery' used in semiotics of drama is a useful parallel to what tragedy suggests).

The main reason this distinction is problematic for Greek tragic space is the spatial emptiness encountered during choral songs. The visible dramatic space does not lose its dramatic identity. The emptiness is not physical, represented by the removal of some objects or decorative elements from the performance space but of a different kind: the audience's minds are taken to another world, even when the theme of the song is associated with the particular *mythos* of the play. Their minds are temporarily 'emptied' from the particular location represented by the performance area in a poetic journey only to return to the dramatic location after widening their perception of it through lyric reference to other worlds. Therefore, while in modern drama the identified space does not tend to become empty after the beginning of the play, in Greek tragedy the situation is more ambivalent.

The notion of emptiness is closely related to the notion of a neutral space. I will use this term for the period when the *skene* did not represent a dramatic location and the elements of performance space had not reached their final form but were functional only. When the elements which filled the performance space became fixed and dramatically activated (for example, the *skene*-building, decoration, possibly altars according to the dramatic needs), the space became full and the notion of empty space as a contrast to full space emerged.

The distinction between *circular* and *rectangular* will be thoroughly discussed in the case of the *orkhestra* and the archaeological evidence related to

it.¹⁰⁰ Apart from the shape of the *orkhestra* itself, there is evidence (though late) that the chorus entered the *orkhestra* in rectilinear formation.¹⁰¹

The other co-ordinates (continuous/broken, homogeneous/subdivided, ordinary/theatricalised) apply basically to modern theatre conditions and thus do not seem applicable in the analysis of tragic space. Apart from the oppositions discussed above, the configuration of performance space and its dissolution (the way in which the organisation of space is created and then comes to an end) will be significant for the analysis of tragic space. The organisation of performance space will be examined in the following chapters in association with dramatic space with particular focus on the meanings created. An important part of my analysis will also be devoted to reported space, which has attracted comparatively little attention in semiotics.

These three main kinds of tragic space are analysed in detail in the third chapter. Their synthesis and meaning are then closely examined in selected passages from three plays (chapters 4-6). The main premise in the discussion which follows is that boundaries between the proposed categories are not to be considered rigid, the complexity and peculiarities of space in tragedy making the mechanical application of spatial categories entirely inappropriate. Rather, the approach followed here is synthetic, examining ways in which both the categories themselves and their intersections affect the construction of the dynamics of tragic space and the meaning thus produced. This approach is semiotic in principle, since the production of meaning is at the heart of the analysis, but also transcends the scope of traditional semiotics in its interest in the dynamic interaction between categories.

¹⁰⁰ See chapter 2, pp.29-42.

¹⁰¹ Pollux 4.108-110, Tzetzes *Prol.ad Lycophr.* p.254M. Ubersfeld, 1996, 83, regards the circle as 'l'espace du jeu, de la performance scénique, quand le rectangle est la boîte mimétique'. She accepts that the two forms can intermingle. Concerning the semantics of the circle she says that 'l'espace circulaire...a une vocation naturelle à ne pas être orienté. Il réclame de laisser le regard du spectateur l'affronter de tous les côtés, et il ne supporte aucune cachette, aucune occultation.l' espace circulaire est celui du jeu étale, de l'absence de secret'. This may be related to what Lowe, 2000, 176, notes about the prologue as 'the only place for soliloquy or secrecy' because the chorus (who occupy the circular place of the *orkhestra*) are absent.

CHAPTER 2. THE THEATRE OF DIONYSOS

The physical space where the extant tragedies were performed, the theatre of Dionysos in Athens, underwent several stages of rebuilding and what is seen now are basically the remains of its Roman phase. The form of the theatre in the fifth century BC has long been a matter of serious dispute among scholars, since the archaeological remains of this period are very scarce. It is 'a question of steering a course through a maze of conflicting theories', as Dinsmoor rightly remarks.¹ Authors who are not themselves archaeologists can only rely on the archaeological reports which, however, often disagree on the dates, nature and function of the remains or do not offer a detailed description of the findings. Thus the modest aim of this chapter is to present an account of the archaeological data and, based on them, to attempt to reconstruct the architectural space in which the majority of the fifth-century tragedies took place, at least in their first production.² The analysis of the remains illustrates the variety of interpretations of the same evidence and the extent to which they may reflect individual presupposition. My own suggestions about the architectural space in the fifth century do not therefore claim to be conclusive but, in combination with the examination of the texts which follows this chapter, are intended to sketch a picture of the theatre in which fifth-century drama was performed.

The first point of dispute has been the date when the theatre of Dionysos on the south slope of Akropolis was originally used as the site for theatrical performances. Most scholars believe that the first productions by Thespis took place in the Agora and that the theatre was built in the precinct of Dionysos on the Akropolis when the ἵκρια (wooden seats supported on stands) on which the audience were sitting collapsed.³ This must have taken place in the early fifth century.⁴ The testimonies are lexicographical notices which, however, are not absolutely reliable, since they first appear in late sources (such as *Suda* and

¹ Dinsmoor, 309.

² The plays were performed only once but there seem to have been re-performances of successful ones in other festivals, see Walton, 1980, 62-3. For the reproductions of tragic plays in the rural Dionysia see Pickard-Cambridge, 1988, 52, Wiles, 2000, 93.

³ The location of this collapse may have been the Agora according to Bieber, 1961, 54, 73, Wurster, 24, Hammond, 1972, 399-404. For other reasons for the change of the location see Hammond, 404-5. For the disputed site of this 'theatre' see Hammond, 1972, 400-1. For the ἵκρια see Dilke, 1948, 163, Ashby, 1988, 13.

⁴ For the date of the collapse see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 13-4, Dinsmoor, 314.

Hesychios).⁵ Another aspect of these testimonies which should be considered is that these seating benches may have been located in the theatre on the Akropolis.⁶ The same word, ἰκρία, is also used much later for the wooden benches of the audience, as Aristophanes attests (*Thesm.* 395). A more reliable indication of the use of the theatre on the Akropolis is the sherds dated very early in the fifth century which were found in the soil spread to level the slope above the new theatre.⁷

The appearance of the theatre in the fifth century is obscured by the later phases of its rebuilding. Based on the scarce archaeological evidence which can be dated with some certainty to this century, the questions to be answered involve the shape and location of the *orkhestra*, the existence of a *skene*-building, with or without a raised stage, and the use of *skenographia* in the form of painted panels.

The *orkhestra* lay on a terrace above the earliest temple on the slope of the Akropolis, dated according to the material of its foundation as early as the second half of the sixth century.⁸ The common view has been that there was a circular *orkhestra* and a supporting wall around it.⁹ The archaeological remains and the secondary sources need careful examination.

The argument for a circular *orkhestra* was based on three groups of stones whose date, material and form has provoked much discussion. South east and 1.80m below the surface of the level area of the present *orkhestra*, Dörpfeld

⁵ For the lexicographers and scholiasts referring to the collapse see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 11-13.

⁶ Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 13. For a detailed account of the lexicographical notices and rejection of placing the ἰκρία in the Agora see Scullion, 52-61. Cf. Newiger, 82-5, who seems to follow the view of Webster, 1963, 19, that the first performances until about 470 BC took place 'immer beim Tempel des Dionysos Eleuthereus'. Stoessl, 1 n.1 and 141, Scullion, 61, argue for an early date for the use of the theatre of Dionysos (sixth century).

⁷ See Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 14, Hammond, 1972, 404. For the use of the theatre of Dionysos in the early fifth century see Wurster, 24, Hammond, 1972, 403-5. For the first use of the theatre in Perikles' time see Travlos, 1971, 537, but see Wiles' objections, 1997, 49, n.92. It is disputable whether performances in the Lenaia festival (*IG* ii² 2325 fr.r) took place in the theatre of Dionysos (especially after the middle fifth century). For a separate theatre see, for example, Russo, 43, Slater, 1986, 255-64. Against this view see Pickard-Cambridge, 1948, 127, Scullion, 62-5, von Moellendorff, 153, n.24, Csapo-Slater, 123, 133.

⁸ Goette, 22. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 4, says that it was possibly built quite early in the sixth century to receive the image of Dionysos, cf. Pöhlmann, 49-50, Travlos, 1971, 537.

⁹ Dörpfeld, 1896, 26-7, 35, followed by Hammond, 1972, 407, cf. Hammond, 1988, 6-9, Dinsmoor, 310-12, 329, Caputo, 104, and Scullion, 21-28. The smooth surface and the circular shape of the early *orkhestra* have been explained as deriving from the form of the threshing floor. For a summary of this theory and its advocates see Rehm, 1988, 276, n.58, who rejects it. Against this view see also Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 9, n.2, Ashby, 1999, 24-5.

discovered seven stones of Akropolis limestone *in situ* forming a curve (see SM1 in diagram 1).¹⁰

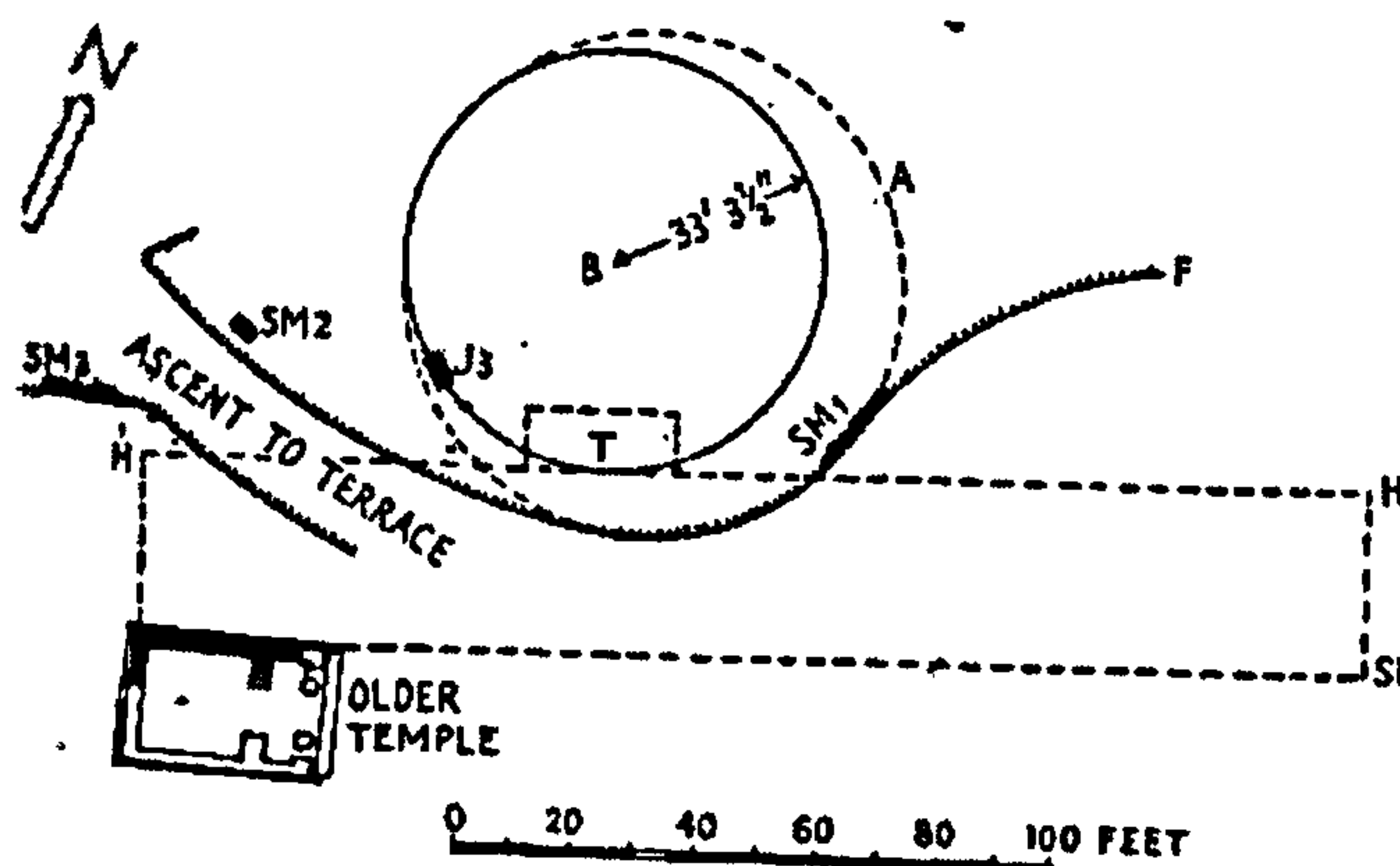


Diagram 1. (1m=3.3 feet) From Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, p.7, fig.6 (after Fiechter)

Broken line: Dörpfeld's *orkhestra*; Normal line: Fiechter's reconstruction

(R (Dörpfeld)= SM1 (Fiechter), D= SM3, Q= J3, V= A)

Now six stones are visible. Dörpfeld marked the stones with the letter R and concluded that they were the foundation layer of a wall which had enclosed this part of the level area, namely the *orkhestra*. As the stones formed the arc of a circle, he estimated the diameter of the circle to be approximately 24m.¹¹ In Dörpfeld's view, both the material and the style of the masonry of R were appropriate to the sixth century.¹²

The notion of the circle is reinforced by the other stones in the area. Dörpfeld related R to Q=J3 and V as part of the circumference of the *orkhestra*.¹³ As to Q=J3, this piece of foundation consisted of two stones lying under a rectangular stone of later date. Both were badly deteriorated and made of diverse materials: the northern one of soft white limestone, the southerly of yellowish poros.¹⁴

¹⁰ Gebhard, 1974, 432, arguing for a rectilinear wall detects two segments of this group of stones, a straight one to the North and a curved one to the South. However, since the biggest stone towards the north is broken and not taken into account, the conclusions about the line of which these stones were part cannot be certain. For the objections to Gebhard's view see Scullion, 38, Hammond, 1988, 8.

¹¹ Dörpfeld, 1896, 26-7, 35, estimated the circle at 24 m. but Dörpfeld, 1923, 442-3, suggested 27 m. For the diameter see also Dinsmoor, 312-3, Hammond, 1972, 407, Moretti, 392, n.45. The need for a *skene*-building led Bieber, 1961, 57, to assume that the *orkhestra* was smaller with a diameter of about 20m. Taplin, 1977, 457, is of the same opinion. For a discussion of the *skene*-building see pp.42-5 below.

¹² Dörpfeld, 1896, 26. See also Scullion, 9, Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 5. See also Hammond, 1972, 408, for the different weathering on the stones. For a later date of the stones see Polacco, 1990, 44, 46. Kalligas, 1994, 25, n.3, however, notes that some of Polacco's remarks contradict the surviving evidence.

¹³ Dörpfeld, 1896, 27.

¹⁴ Gebhard, 432-3, refers to three stones and shows that they look straight but as Scullion, 21, remarks 'only the southerly stone with the Bruchstück on top of it remain'. Cf. Dinsmoor, 312, Wiles, 1997, 44. Since the stones have deteriorated and their packing has been lost since the

Material of this kind was used in the sixth century.¹⁵ V was, according to Dörpfeld, an original cutting in the rock in the form of a segment of a circle.¹⁶ It was found underneath the eastern *eisodos* of the theatre as the latter was located at a later phase. The function and existence of this rock are doubted.¹⁷

The difference in material between Q and R caused dispute concerning their association and therefore their part in forming the same circle.¹⁸ However, there are parallels from the sixth or early fifth century for the combination in retaining walls of this sort of poros with Akropolis limestone, for example, the polygonal wall running up the west slope of the Akropolis, and the retaining wall of 488 BC south of the older Parthenon.¹⁹ In addition, 'Q was found with smaller pieces of hard limestone as a filling behind it, as was R'.²⁰ For the advocates of the circular *orkhestra* the material, direction and position of Q indicate that it was part of the same circumference as R.²¹ Dörpfeld interpreted D (SM3 in Fiechter's plan) to be probably part of the retaining wall of the western *eisodos*, whose lower side abutted on the *orkhestra* at or very near to Q.²² He dated D in the fifth century on the grounds that it is in a slightly later style of masonry than the other early walls.²³

Fiechter, who continued the excavation, retained the circular shape of the *orkhestra* but, followed by Pickard-Cambridge, claimed that the curve in SM1, as he renamed Dörpfeld's R, indicates that it was part of a bow-shaped retaining wall for a road leading up to the *orkhestra* terrace, and thus the *orkhestra* would have been not much larger than the later dancing place.²⁴ He related SM3 to the S-retaining wall on the grounds that it was a fragment of polygonal masonry

nineteenth-century excavations, Hammond, 1988, 8-9, suggests that Dörpfeld's drawings must be trusted.

¹⁵ Scullion, 19, says that these types of stone were in use from the seventh century, while according to Judeich, 2, soft white stone began to be employed in the sixth century.

¹⁶ Dörpfeld, 1896, 27.

¹⁷ See Scullion, 19, Dinsmoor, 313 for the position of V. For its function see Dinsmoor, 313, Hammond, 1972, 409-10 and the objections by Scullion, 46-7, mainly to Hammond's misunderstanding of Dörpfeld's plan. See also pp.56-7 below. Fiechter, i, 38-40, omitted V completely. For the objection to this dismissal see Scullion, 18-9, 37. The dismissal of Q and V is followed by Travlos, 1971, 537, who, however, accepts a semi-circular retaining wall. For objections to this reconstruction see Simon, 4.

¹⁸ Against their association see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 7-8, Pöhlmann, 52.

¹⁹ See Dörpfeld, 1896, 28, and Dinsmoor, 312, n.3.

²⁰ Scullion, 20.

²¹ Dinsmoor, 312, cf. Scullion, 36-40.

²² Dörpfeld, 1896, 26, 28. Dinsmoor, 313, suggests that it would apparently have supported the ramp forming the west *eisodos*. Scullion, 28, n.89, agrees with Dörpfeld's alternative suggestion that D was part of the retaining wall of the first auditorium.

²³ Dörpfeld, 1896, 26. Dinsmoor, 313, also agrees; see Scullion, 17, n.52, Moretti, 395.

differing very little in technique from R (see diagram 1 above).²⁵ However, the shape of this retaining wall has caused objections.²⁶

Apart from the remains, another argument for a circular *orkhestra* in the theatre of Dionysos is the need for this shape for the performance of the dithyrambs which formed a principal part of the Dionysia. The dithyrambic dance was consistently known in antiquity as the 'circular chorus'.²⁷ Andokides, *Peri ton Musterion* 38, has also been used as evidence for a circular *orkhestra*.²⁸

The suggestion that the *orkhestra* was rectilinear was first presented by Anti and continued by Gebhard and other authors.²⁹ Concerning the theatre of Dionysos which is the focus of this analysis, Anti 'mistakenly interpreted a dotted line running between a long-abandoned well from the Mycenaean period and a manhole from the Classical Age as a drainage ditch for a straight-fronted *orkhestra*. This 'ditch' exists only on paper'.³⁰ Anti possessed first-hand knowledge of Syracuse only, and was forced to rely upon secondary sources for his other information.³¹ It should be noted here that the supposed drainage should not be confused with the notion of underground stairs (χαρόνιαι κλίμακες), which are not attested in the theatre of Dionysos.³²

Gebhard proposed that the straight gutter constructed in the theatre of Dionysos followed the line of the seats and that the *orkhestra* had the same form as the space defined by the seats and the terrace. This is most often a space with a slightly irregular rectilinear outline.³³ She based her argument for a rectilinear

²⁴ Fiechter, i, 38-40. See also Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 8-9.

²⁵ Fiechter, i, 38-41. In Fiechter's smaller *orkhestra* circle Q is on its edge. The advocates of the rectilinear hypothesis also associate R and D, see, for example, Pöhlmann, 52. For the rectilinear hypothesis see below.

²⁶ See Hammond, 1972, 407, n.39, Scullion, 37, and Wiles, 1997, 45.

²⁷ See D'Angour, 342-3, for the circular form of the dithyrambs. See also Hammond, 1988, 9. Dilke, 1948, 127, says that 'where dancing is concerned, the most natural setting for it is a circular space'.

²⁸ Based on 'εστάναι δὲ κύκλῳ ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ δέκα ἀνδρας, τοὺς δὲ ἀνὰ εἴκοσιν', Wiles, 1997, 49, argues that it is difficult to suppose 'that clusters of people would arrange themselves in a perceptible circle unless the space dictated that arrangement'.

²⁹ Anti, 55-82 (for the theatre of Dionysos). For some other advocates of the rectilinear hypothesis see Gebhard, 1974, 428-40, Bees, 1995, 73-106, Goette, 9-48, Pöhlmann, 49-62, 107-116. Anti's main argument was that there was a continuous tradition from the rectilinear theatrical areas of Crete to the early classical theatres of Attica and Syracuse. For the most recent summary of his views and the objections to them see Ashby, 1999, 26-7. See also Johnson, 51, Bulle, 70, Markman, 278-9, Pickard-Cambridge, 1948, 126-8, Bieber, 1948, 450. Cf. Wiles, 1997, 47, n.84.

³⁰ Ashby, 1999, 38. Dinsmoor, 312, explains this line as a mistake of Fiechter.

³¹ Mac Donald, 412-3.

³² See Scullion, 51-2, Bees, 1995, 90.

³³ Gebhard, 1974, 428-40. For other accounts see Wiles, 1997, 46, n. 80.

performance area in Athens on the parallels found in other theatres, basically those of Thorikos, Isthmia and Tegea.³⁴

Before offering a brief account of these theatres, the interpretation of the remains of the auditorium of the theatre of Dionysos and especially of the stones attributed to the *Proedria* is examined, since they are the main argument in favour of the rectilinear theory. Ten blocks, most of which were reused for repairing the straight channel under the Hall, have been found.³⁵ Letters which were engraved on some of these stones assigning them to dignitaries and the vertical demarcation lines on them have been used as evidence that the *Proedria* and, thus, the entire auditorium were straight.³⁶ The position of these stones in the auditorium is, however, disputed.³⁷ According to Gebhard these were clearly seats belonging to a rectilinear cavea.³⁸ Dinsmoor suggests that the flat slabs are the actual seats of the first row, the *Proedria*. The upright slabs supported the seats of the second row, possibly designating places for the officials of the fifth century.³⁹ However, according to Moretti, all the blocks belonged to the same type of seating as the footrests.⁴⁰

Irrespective of the precise function of the blocks, the straight seats do not necessarily imply a rectilinear auditorium. Polygonal (almost circular) auditoria, such as the one Dinsmoor reconstructs for Athens, are composed of segments of straight seats.⁴¹ Cavea and *orkhestra* need not necessarily have the same form as

³⁴ For the interpretation of the stones R and Q of the theatre of Dionysos according to Gebhard's presuppositions see nn.10, 14 above. For the dismissal of Q and SM2 (discovered by Fiechter midway between J3 and SM3 and slightly to the north of them, and considered by Scullion, 18, a fill *behind* a wall) without justifying the reasons see Scullion, 39. Cf. Wiles, 1997, 48.

³⁵ For the description and location of the stones see Lehmann-Hartleben, 61-3, Moretti, 383-5. See also Dinsmoor, 328. For the Hall see p.50 below.

³⁶ For the inscriptions on the blocks see Dinsmoor, 328, Moretti, 383-5, 389. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 20, thinks that the single letters were possibly used as numbers.

³⁷ Pöhlmann, 57-9, argues that the *anathyrosis* and bosses at the back indicate that the stones formed a straight *Proedria*. *Anathyrosis* according to *Collins Archaeology Dictionary* is 'to match two adjoining blocks or column drums. Ins tead of the two touching along a complete face, the centre was hollowed out, thus leaving a point of contact only along the edges'.

³⁸ Gebhard, 434. See also Wurster, 37-9.

³⁹ Dinsmoor, 328. Against this see Pöhlmann, 59.

⁴⁰ See Moretti's arguments, 387.

⁴¹ Dinsmoor, 328-9, Read, 326-7, Ashby, 1988, 14. Against Dinsmoor's reconstruction see Wurster, 39. Scullion, 40, remarks that 'the prohedria seats would be the same shape as all the others, and the fact that they are straight is no argument against their forming part of a circular auditorium'. This replies to Goette's argument, 28, about the last row of seats of the *koilon*- and thus the whole middle part of the auditorium- being straight because of a straight road 'der wohl den oberen Abschluß des hoch-klassischen Theatron markiert'. However, a straight road especially at the end of the *koilon* is not an indication of a rectilinear auditorium. Even if we suppose that part of the line of seats was straight, this is not an argument against a circular auditorium in which the wooden seats would not be curved.

other theatres, such as that in Corinth, indicate.⁴² However, even if this were necessary, a rectilinear auditorium still requires a very different sort of hillside than that appropriate to a circular cavea-auditorium and it is difficult 'to cut a cavea like that of the extant auditorium [in Athens] into the kind of hillside that would naturally accommodate long, straight rows of benches'.⁴³

The argument for a rectilinear auditorium and *orkhestra* based on the blocks is also problematic because the blocks cannot be securely dated. 'It is possible that the prohedria seats were installed in the late fifth century, were retained in a new position some thirty years later, and only came to be replaced when the extant auditorium was constructed, with its curved stone seating'.⁴⁴ Based on the Ionic letter forms of the inscriptions they belong to 425-403 BC.⁴⁵ However, inscriptions cannot be used as secure evidence for the chronology of a monument and may be dated differently by archaeologists. For example, in Trakhones inscriptions similar to the ones found in Athens on the sides of the supposed *Proedria* (four stones *in situ*) have been dated to the early Hellenistic period by Olga Tzakhou-Alexandri, the excavator of the place, while Pöhlmann considers them much earlier because of clear indications 'für voreuklidische Orthographie'.⁴⁶

Thus, the theatre of Dionysos does not offer any cogent evidence of a rectilinear auditorium. What remains to be examined is the supposed analogy between the theatre in Athens and the *deme* theatres, especially Thorikos, in which the straight *Proedria* has been adduced to demonstrate a rectilinear

⁴² See Wiles, 1997, 48, who brings the examples of the theatres of Corinth and Morgantina where rectangular bases were used in the circular theatre. See also Stillwell, 22, Read, 327-8. Mitens 106, fig.21, argues for a trapezoidal *koilon* in Morgantina. The excavation of Morgantina has not been fully reported, see Allen, 1970, 363-4. For the argument that the asymmetry in the walls of the auditorium (*analemmata*) of the theatre of Dionysos is incompatible with the symmetry required by a circular *orkhestra* and the association with the Odeion see Bees, 1995, 76-7, Goette, 28. Even if this building were the Odeion and if it were built around 440 BC, an earlier structure might have stood on the same site, and thus affected the construction of the auditorium. For the date of the Odeion around 440s see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 1, n.4, Dinsmoor, 313, Webster, 1956, 6, Travlos, 1971, 537-8. Scullion, 10-11, however, considers the view that Themistokles roofed the Odeion (as Vitruvius *De arch.* 5.9.1 claims) more probable. Kalligas, 1994, 25-9, rejects the common view that the building was the Odeion, as Kastriotis, 81-123, had argued, and suggests that the building was the Prytaneion, an unlikely assumption.

⁴³ Scullion, 41. Polacco, 1990, 164-5, suggesting a trapezoidal auditorium parallel to the line of the *Proedria* (with a trapezoidal *orkhestra*) admits that work of scaffolding was required. Cf. Wiles, 1997, 50.

⁴⁴ Scullion, 14.

⁴⁵ Gebhard, 1974, 433. For the characters in the inscriptions see also Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 20. Dinsmoor, 328, dates the letters to the very late fifth century.

auditorium in Athens.⁴⁷ These theatres will be discussed briefly since they are assumed to have imitated the early theatre of Dionysos.⁴⁸ They raise two particular problems: that the fifth-century structures are beneath later phases and that the scarce remains do not allow us to estimate the dimensions and functions of these theatres. Material of these early forms has been reused and thus the early buildings cannot be excavated accurately. Furthermore, the dates these 'theatres' were in use are also disputed. A brief account of the theatres indicates these problems.

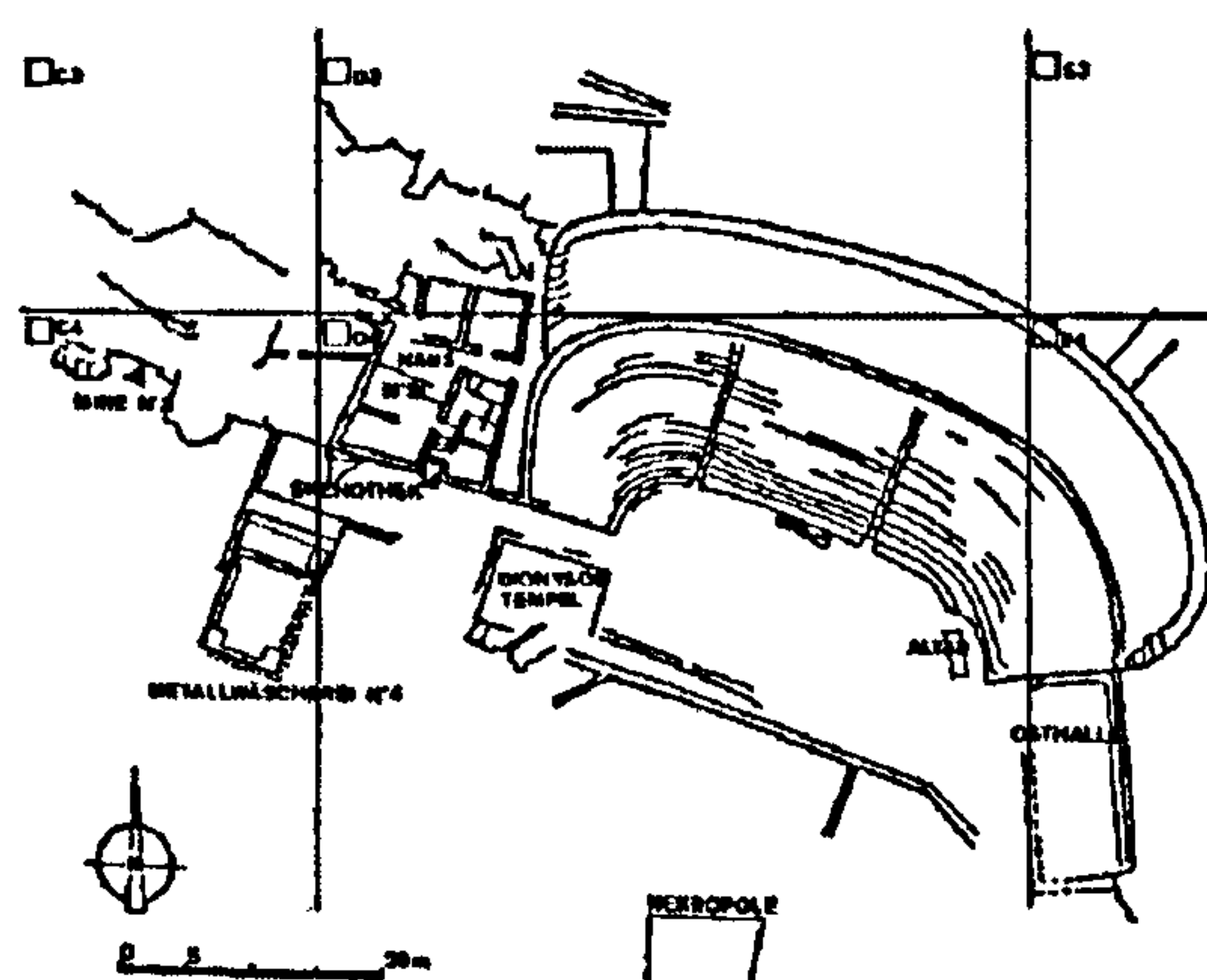


Figure 2. Thorikos the ground plan. From H. P. Mussche et al., Thorikos 1965: Rapport préliminaire.

Diagram 2. Thorikos (From Ashby, 1999, p.49)

The *orkhestra* of the theatre at Thorikos forms a roughly rectangular space with rounded corners, and the ends of the parallel rows of seats in the *theatron* curve to enclose the *orkhestra* (Diagram 2).⁴⁹ The theatre was remodelled later.⁵⁰ This remodelling included the enlargement of the *orkhestra* and two short extensions at the ends to withstand the thrust of the terrace above.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Pöhlmann, 56. But see Read, 326, who claims that this theatre is not earlier than 350 BC. Cf. Wiles, 1997, 47. Tzakhou-Alexandri, 66-7, dates the inscription to 325/4 BC and the theatre to the middle of fourth century.

⁴⁷ Gebhard, 1974, 434, also refers to the similarity between C=aA of an early retaining wall for the west side of the cavea (preserved to the South of the Lykurgan *analemma*) and the west *analemma* at Thorikos as an argument that the original wooden seats in Athens arranged in straight parallel rows were later partly replaced in stone without changing their alignment. A similar *Proedria* (but with four chairs surviving) was excavated in Trakhones. See also Polacco, 1990, 164, n.35 for theatres with a straight *Proedria*.

⁴⁸ See Pöhlmann, 108. Bieber, 1961, 57, argues that Thorikos gives us the best idea of the way the Athenian theatre must have appeared in an early period. Whitley, 440, claims that to gain some sense of what an early dramatic performance might have been like we have to go out of Athens, to Thorikos.

⁴⁹ For the description of the cavea see Gebhard, 1974, 431. Wiles, 48, n.88, notes that at Thorikos only the front row is actually straight. For the slope and the irregular shape of the auditorium see Miller, 3-4, Cushing, 29-30, Pickard-Cambridge, 1948, 125, Dilke, 1950, 27.

⁵⁰ Gebhard, 1972, 431, dates the second phase to 480-25 BC especially around 450 BC. See also Mussche, 41, Read, 326.

⁵¹ Gebhard, 1974, 431.

Gebhard's main evidence for a rectilinear theatre in the fifth century is the ceramic material found there and dated around 525-480 BC. The sherds were found in the same context as the wall supporting the first *orkhestra* terrace. From these sherds the Belgian archaeologists dated the early form of the theatre to the first half of the fifth century, but considered the late sixth another possible date.⁵²

The first stone seats are later (around 480-400 BC, based on pottery finds). Gebhard admits, however, that the earth next to the cavea is too badly disturbed by earlier excavations to provide evidence for the line of the original cavea, which 'may have coincided with the centre portion of the stone-seats' (my emphasis).⁵³ Gebhard also admits that there is no conclusive evidence about the *eisodoi*.⁵⁴ She supposes that the stone seats of the lower cavea, the altar in the east and the temple in the west belong to the second phase but admits that 'the altar's location could have been fixed by earlier religious practice'.⁵⁵ This indicates that the theatre may have had this irregular form by necessity because of the altar which was already there. According to Goette the system of demarcation with letters and lines found in the theatre in Athens also recalls the *Proedria* of Thorikos.⁵⁶ The coincidence of the same demarcation system in both theatres is, however, 'no support for the notion that the Athenian seats were arranged like those in Thorikos; it merely proves that the Athenians and the Thorikians held similar views about the amount of space to be allotted to very important posteriors'.⁵⁷ Despite the same system of demarcation in the seats of the fifth century as for those of the theatre of Dionysos, the altar foundation in Thorikos and the rock-cut chamber at the east (a hall or temple) remain without parallel.⁵⁸ Furthermore, in Thorikos the western temple is below the western *eisodos* as in Athens, but forms part of the architectural space of the theatre in contrast to the temple of Dionysos which lies outside the theatre.⁵⁹ The theatre in Trakhones is late and 'laid out around a rectangle some half-century after many

⁵² Goette, 12, Pöhlmann, 54-5. See Mussche, 41. Read, 326, dates it to around 510 BC.

⁵³ Gebhard, 1974, 431.

⁵⁴ Gebhard, 1974, 431.

⁵⁵ Gebhard, 1974, 432. See also Goette, 12. Mussche, 41, notes that stratigraphy is much disturbed by nineteenth-century excavations and it is impossible to define the relationship between these rooms and the *orkhestra*.

⁵⁶ Goette, 28. Goette, 12, admits that the middle first seat-row at Thorikos is not securely dated.

⁵⁷ Scullion, 41.

⁵⁸ Goette, 12, Pöhlmann, 56.

⁵⁹ See Wiles, 1997, 33.

theatres elsewhere had been planned around a circle'.⁶⁰ The same is the case of the theatre of Rhamnous to which Gebhard refers. At Rhamnous the decrees found which imply the use of the site as a theatre are dated in the fourth and third centuries.⁶¹

Gebhard also refers to the theatres of Tegea and Isthmia as parallels for the theatre in Athens. In the latter, two trapezoidal gutter channels indicate, according to her, the line of the early cavea and the *orkhestra*.⁶² However, 'a straight-sided drain removes torrential rain-water more quickly than a curved drain, and can scarcely justify the reconstruction of a straight-sided auditorium'.⁶³ The theatre of Isthmia is also partly excavated. For Tegea Gebhard argues that a paved walk, gutter, and stone curb (presumably bordering the *orkhestra*, which has not been excavated) follow the straight line of seats. According to her 'this is the best example of a formal unity between the proedria, gutter and orchestra curb, since all elements are represented and preserved'.⁶⁴ However, the excavation in the 1920s was limited and the *orkhestra* itself not excavated.⁶⁵ The foundations of a church do not allow thorough excavations. Even if these were possible, the early phase of the theatre is obscured by the later construction in the same area and level making thus any reconstruction a difficult task. The archaeological report of the supplementary excavations in recent past years by Ephor Dr Th. Spyropoulos has not been published yet.⁶⁶

The theatre of Ikaria, where Thespis was supposed to have performed, has also been used as an argument for the rectilinear hypothesis. Goette, relying on the side supporting wall of the auditorium, dates the *orkhestra* to the sixth century but this is uncertain and supposes that the *Proedria* perhaps had temporary chairs or some '*stelai*'.⁶⁷ However, such 'temporary' chairs are by nature inadmissible as evidence for the rectangular *orkhestra* and auditorium. If

⁶⁰ Wiles, 1997, 47. For the date of this theatre see n.46 above.

⁶¹ Petrakos, I, 296, II, 21 (*SEG* 22, 120), II, 96-7 (*IG* ii² 3108), II, 99-100 (*IG* ii² 3109). Read, 326, dates it to around 350 BC. See also Wiles, 1997, 47.

⁶² Gebhard, 1973, 9-16, followed by Ashby, 1988, 9.

⁶³ Wiles, 1997, 47. He adds that such a drainage line carved into the semi-circular stone auditorium is also found at Syracuse.

⁶⁴ Gebhard, 1973, 15, n.13.

⁶⁵ Vallois, 135-69.

⁶⁶ I owe this information to Miss M. Tsakoumaki. See Read, 328, n.13, for a description of the site. Cf. Wiles, 1997, 48.

⁶⁷ Goette, 10, admits that no remains of this wall are visible. But Read, 326, Pöhlmann, 134, regard it as a fourth-century theatre.

they are temporary there is no reason to suppose that they were put in a straight line, since their position could be easily changed.

This account of the remains suggests the need for a re-appraisal of the view which the advocates of the rectilinear hypothesis share, namely that the 'normal form' of the *orkhestra* and the *Proedria* in the fifth century is straight rather than curved. Almost all theatres mentioned above including the most famous one, the theatre of Thorikos, do not have a rectilinear *orkhestra* or auditorium but instead are of rather irregular form. The function of these fifth-century theatres, based on the scarce archaeological remains, is also doubtful. There is no evidence whether these sites were used for dramatic performances or merely functioned as political or religious locations. In Thorikos, the oddly-shaped structure is often called a *bouleuterion*, while the most recent excavators identify the chamber with a temple to Demeter and consider this site a space associated with this and not a theatre.⁶⁸ Concerning Ikaria, Goette remarks that the place was used for performances and assemblies but fails to find evidence to relate it to Thespis and his traditional victory in the first Dionysiac tragic agon organised by the state in 534-3 BC (*IG ii*² 2318).⁶⁹ Gebhard's examples of rectilinear or slightly curved auditoria at Argos, Syracuse and Khaironia are also doubtful.⁷⁰ A Hellenistic inscription in Khaironia identifies it as a theatre, but no remnants of an *orkhestra* or a *skene* have been excavated.⁷¹ The auditoria at Argos and Syracuse are probably mid fifth-century but 'they lie alongside later circle-based theatres, suggesting that the two types of 'theatre' had differentiated functions'.⁷² Until all these 'theatres' are more thoroughly excavated and the archaeological reports fully published, no clear conclusion may be drawn about their function.

Thus, the main argument for the rectilinear hypothesis, namely that in early times a place of assembly could be used for a multiplicity of functions including

⁶⁸ Pickard-Cambridge, 1948, 125, refers to it as 'the town's public place'. See also Read, 326. I owe the comment about the recent excavations to Professor Waywell, who also referred to the example of Lykosoura. Whitley, 340, associates the temple and altar with Dionysos.

⁶⁹ Goette, 10.

⁷⁰ Gebhard, 1974, 436.

⁷¹ For the theatre in Khaironia see Anti-Polacco, 19-44, Ashby, 1988, 10. Dilke, 1950, 35, says that 'an experimental excavation, in the *orchestra* and below, by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1907 revealed nothing'.

⁷² Wiles, 1997, 46-7. Ginouvès, 74-82, uses the term 'theatron' for the straight-line theatre at Argos because he feels that the term has less specificity than 'theatre'. He considers it primarily the place of the assembly, but does not exclude the possibility that it was also used for dramatic presentations before the construction of the big theatre. See also Gebhard, 1975, 162.

drama, is not consistent with the evidence.⁷³ The roughness and rurality as well as the particular local conditions of these sites also seem to distinguish them from theatre construction in Athens.⁷⁴ The analogy between Athens and these *deme* theatres breaks down, since in Athens the place used for theatrical performances was different from these of political assemblies (Pnyx, Agora) in the fifth century. One of the possible reasons the Dionysia required its own location was the much larger number of spectators than those attending local festivities in the *demes*. Therefore, I would not go as far as Wiles and argue that 'the rationale for the existence of the Theatre of Dionysus was precisely its difference from the *Agora* and from the Pnyx'.⁷⁵ I believe that the relationship of these spaces was complementary rather than antithetic. Even in Athens, however, the supposed model for the early period of the other theatres, their functions did not converge as was incorrectly proposed for the *deme* theatres. The fact that the theatre took over the function of the Pnyx in later years only and in a limited and specific way reinforces this assumption.⁷⁶

Another serious objection to the rectilinear hypothesis is the lack of any explanation for the change from rectilinear to circular theatres mainly in the fourth century.⁷⁷ The fourth-century architecture in general remained rectilinear with the exception of the *tholoi*.⁷⁸ Thus, there was no sudden general architectural tendency towards circular buildings and the developmental scheme from rectangular to circular theatres fails.⁷⁹

⁷³ See for example, Ashby, 1988, 15, for this argument.

⁷⁴ Buck, 66-7. Pickard-Cambridge, 1948, 126, refers to Rhamnous and Ikaria as 'two small country places where the builders did what local conditions required'. For Thorikos, see Cushing, 30.

⁷⁵ Wiles, 1997, 49.

⁷⁶ Wycherley, 62, 214-5. Wycherley, 212, envisages the *skene*-building in a simple form like the law courts. According to Pickard-Cambridge, 1988, 64, an assembly discussing complaints of misbehaviour in the conduct of the festival took place in the theatre of Dionysos. Cf. Dem. *Meid.* xxi 8-10, Aiskhin. *Peri tes Parapresbeias* 61. The date of this practice is uncertain but represents a very limited use of the theatre for gatherings of the *ekklesia*. See also Carey, 2000, 86, Wise, 131-4, Rehm, 2002, 298, n.155.

⁷⁷ Rehm, 1988, 277, n.59, admits that this question is difficult to answer. Gebhard, 1974, 440, believes that the first evidence for an *orkhestra* circle is that of the theatre of Epidauros at the end of fourth century. However, a better example is the theatre in Megalopolis which is dated to c.350 BC (I owe this comment to Professor Waywell). Even if the change to a circular theatre were justified, the remaining problem is that the 'innovative' circular *orkhestra* is first attested in Epidauros and not in Athens- which is supposed to have been the example for the other theatres. For the date of the theatre of Epidauros see Ashby, 1988, 2, Wiles, 1997, 39, Bieber, 1948, 450.

⁷⁸ See also Wiles, 1997, 50. For *tholoi* see, generally, Seiler.

⁷⁹ For the evolutionary development from rectangular to circular theatres see Gebhard, 1974, 440. Against it Wiles, 1997, 47, brings the example of Morgantina in which 'an asymmetrical trapezoidal auditorium with a large altar on the left (east) side seems to be of a later date than the adjacent Dionysiac theatre planned in a normal way around a circle'. Ashby, 1988, 16-7, also

The only author offering an explanation for this 'change' to circular architecture in the theatre of Lykurgos, as far as I am aware, is Goette. He relates the change to the fact that more spectators were expected in the theatre ('je grösser die Menschenmenge wurde, die einer Aufführung zusah... um so mehr ergab sich das Problem, für alle Zuschauer gleiche optische und akustische Bedingungen zu schaffen').⁸⁰ In summary, he suggests that the demand for the same visual and acoustic conditions for all the spectators is met only by a circular *orkhestra*. As the Athenians had experience of the focus on one point in the Pnyx, where the *bema* was known for its better vision and acoustics, so it was the case with tragedy in the fourth century. For fifth-century tragedy, Goette argues that there was a need for more than one focal point.⁸¹ He then associates the need for a concentrated focus with the political representation of the state in the Lykurgan period which required focus on the statesman after the restriction of democracy.⁸² This, however, is inconsistent with the unifocal Pnyx of the fifth century. Besides, if such a significant change in the form of the theatre had taken place, we should expect testimonies about it. Furthermore, the audience in the fifth century was not small (in comparison to the audience of the Lykurgan period). It was larger than the number of Athenian citizens who gathered in the Pnyx, since the spectators of the Dionysia included, in addition to the Athenians, many visitors and ambassadors from the other parts of Greece (Arist.*Akhar*.504). The 'intimate' character of the rectangular auditorium which is suggested for the fifth century is not consistent with such a large audience.⁸³ As Wiles rightly remarks, 'sightlines and more importantly acoustics would be inferior [in a rectangular theatre] to those offered by a more-or-less circular auditorium, considerations which become more pressing in proportion to the scale of the theatre'.⁸⁴

The detailed discussion of the shape of the *orkhestra* presented above is justified by the significance of its ideological implications. Goette's view of a

tries to reconstruct a scheme of evolution but admits that 'the dating of straight line theatres ranges from the eighth century (Lato) to the latter half of the fourth century (Morgantina)' making it difficult for a scheme of development to be shown (17).

⁸⁰ Goette, 33.

⁸¹ See further p.49 below.

⁸² Goette, 33-4.

⁸³ Wiles, 51. For the short distance between actors and the front rows of the auditorium in such theatres see Green, 1991, 19.

transition from the multifocal rectilinear theatre of the fifth century to the circular theatre with a concentrated focal point in the fourth includes several assumptions about the nature and development of Athenian democracy during the fifth and fourth centuries and about their reflection in public architecture.⁸⁵ Somewhat differently, Wiles sees in the shape of performance space an index of the relationship between spectator and event: 'in the frontal, confrontational space envisaged by Anti, Gebhard, Pöhlmann, Polacco and their school... the audience are watchers of an event rather than participants in an event' as they would have been in a circular theatre.⁸⁶ Even though Wiles seems to focus more closely to the relationship between spectators and the event rather than its political implications, the ideological premise characteristic of his thinking in general, namely that democracy was a political system based on equal participation, takes him the same way with Goette.⁸⁷ My opinion is that it is better not to project ideological and civic implications onto the issue of the shape of the *orkhestra* but rather to see it as a primarily spatial issue which is associated with the chorus and the festival itself. The use of the same performance space for other activities, mainly the dithyrambic dances presupposes that the chorus danced around a statue of Dionysos which had to receive the audience's attention. This statue was possibly placed on the *thymele*. The chorus of tragedy might not have been circular but the space required for the dancers to move and perform their complicated choreographies needed to be bigger than the intimate rectilinear *orkhestra*.⁸⁸ The reference to a circular dance of the chorus in Arist. *Thesm.* 953-4 (Ὅρμα χώρει, κοῦφα ποσίν, ἄγ' εἰς κύκλον) also seems to indicate a large *orkhestra* of this shape, taking into

⁸⁴ Wiles, 1997, 50, argues that 'Anti sketched a primitive theatre with only ten rows, but when Polacco starts to envisage a theatre with thirty to forty rows, the practicalities of the rectangle become acute'.

⁸⁵ See also the suggestion about the three doors by Bees, 1995 and Pöhlmann in p.49 below.

⁸⁶ Wiles, 1997, 52.

⁸⁷ See Wiles, 1997, 52. For an example of this premise see *ibid.* 65-6, about the focus on the centre against a raised stage as an indication of hierarchy. Against the association of tragedy with democracy and collectivity see Griffin, 39-61.

⁸⁸ See chapter 1, p.27, n.101 for the testimonies about a rectilinear formation of the chorus. Sommerstein, 1996, 36, argues that 'to accommodate the circular dithyrambic chorus, a four-sided *orkhestra* would have to be at least 15m. deep and even then there would be an acute mismatch between the conformation of the dancers and that of their performance space'. He explains that a large circular group cannot be easily squeezed into a narrow oblong area.

account that comedy refers to the performance event and theatrical reality much more explicitly than tragedy.⁸⁹

The equivalences between democracy and circular space suggested above need further thought and possibly some modification, as fifth-century democracy was not what it is presented as being by advocates of this view. An issue which tends to be neglected is the construction of the Athenian democracy, not as an ideal and perfect democratic system, but as a mixture of aristocratic codes and communal participation.⁹⁰ As the following discussion about the *skene*-building and especially the raised stage will show, the Athenian democracy, at least before the end of the fifth century when the *demagogoi* prevailed, relied significantly on the power and talent of particular politicians.

The existence and form of a *skene*-building in the fifth century is one of the most disputed issues. The analogy to Thorikos has influenced the way in which scholars have dealt with the problem of the *skene*-building and the raised stage which is associated with it. The theatre at Thorikos does not have a *skene*-building but actors and chorus play together in the *orkhestra*.⁹¹ Despite the argument about the similarity between the two theatres, Pöhlmann accepts the existence of a *skene*-building in the theatre of Dionysos, which functioned as background for the plays and argues that the actors should have been close to it for acoustic reasons.⁹² It would also set off the figures of the actors.⁹³ The *skene*-building could also offer a place for the actors to change costumes and masks.⁹⁴ Besides, it was necessary for the storage of stage-machinery.⁹⁵

Despite its importance, the existence of a *skene*-building is disputed, especially for the early tragic performances in the theatre of Dionysos. Until the construction of the theatre by Lykurgos, Dörpfeld accepted the presence only of an *orkhestra* which was found under the Lykurgan one on the grounds that there

⁸⁹ Sommerstein, 1996, 36, adduces the example of Arist.*Batr.*441 χωρεῖτε ἱερὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον θεᾶς which is not consistent with 'any notable elongated shape of the *orkhestra*'.

⁹⁰ Epitaphs, for example, even though presented in front of the community, involve aristocratic patterns, see Hyperides *Epit.*35-8, who refers to the deceased general as compared to heroes of the past. On Epitaphs see Loraux, 1986, 172-220.

⁹¹ Bieber, 1961, 57, Wiles, 1997, 33, Pöhlmann, 60.

⁹² Pöhlmann, 60, Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 23.

⁹³ Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 23, however considers that the importance of the actors was greater in the later than the earlier part of the fifth century.

⁹⁴ Pöhlmann, 52-3, refers to this opinion presented by older philologists, like Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 608.

⁹⁵ Winter, 39.

was no space for a 'festes Skenengebäude'.⁹⁶ However, he argued for a simple temporary *skene*-building which was enlarged later.⁹⁷ Surviving tragedies require a *skene*-building and it is highly probable that the stone *skene*-building had a kind of predecessor in the theatre of the fifth century.

The common view is that until about 458 BC there was no place for a building- a temporary one, as the name *skene* indicates- at the back edge of the *orkhestra* or south of it, because 'one would have had to build on falling ground some two metres below the surface of the *orchestra* and marry one's building to a curving wall'.⁹⁸ Therefore, most scholars believe that the *skene*-building was erected on the southern part of the old *orkhestra* around 458 BC (when the existence of a building is securely attested by *Agamemnon*).⁹⁹ Problems, however, arise from this assumption about the conditions of performance before 458 BC. The performers had to dress somewhere near the acting area. The suggestion that they used a small hut or booth (*skene*), perhaps hidden in the sacred grove which grew in the southern part of the precinct seems impractical especially if, as Bieber thinks, the chorus and the first actor entered the *orkhestra* through the main *eisodos* which led up to a somewhat steep incline from the southwest to the terrace of the dancing place.¹⁰⁰ If a building with the functional use of a storeroom and a dressing room for the actors existed in the performance space after 458 BC, it seems plausible that this was always the case. The existence of functional buildings such as the *skene*-building in the theatre is attested in religious spaces very early (for example, in the *Telesterion* at Eleusis).¹⁰¹ The *skene*-building would allow the actors to change costumes and appear through the *eisodoi* using a back door. The argument that the long choral

⁹⁶ Dörpfeld, 1896, 32. Pöhlmann, 50, comments on this *communis opinio*. See also Bees, 1995, 74, 76. Dörpfeld, 1896, 33, however accepts a wooden *skene*-building in the middle of the fifth century because of the testimonies for the use of *skenographia*. For a discussion of them see pp.58-64 below.

⁹⁷ Bieber, 1961, 68, Wycherley, 207, argue for one with *paraskenia*.

⁹⁸ Hammond, 1972, 408. For the name *skene* as an indication of a light construction see Wycherley, 204.

⁹⁹ Bieber, 1961, 73, Scullion, 65. Cf. Dinsmoor, 314, for the temporary wooden *skene*-buildings erected between 468 and 458 BC.

¹⁰⁰ Bieber, 1961, 57, argues for one *eisodos* until 460 BC. For the speculation that there was one *eisodos* in the early years of the theatre of Dionysos see Dinsmoor, 313, n.5, Joerden, 1960, 143-7. Against this view, rightly in my opinion, see Allen, 1937, 169-72 and chapter 4, p.106, n.5.

¹⁰¹ See Mylonas, 1962, 48, 87, Travlos, 1950-1, 13-6 (especially the Kimonian reconstruction in fig.10 resembles the *skene*-building in the theatre). For a parallelism between the theatre and the *telesterion* see Travlos, 1971, 537. For the performative/dramatic aspect of the *Mysteria*, the use of machinery for spectacle as in the theatre and connections with contemporary theatre see Peck, s.v. *Eleusinia*.

songs in the early plays gave the actors time to change does not necessarily validate the use of the grove.¹⁰²

The *skene*-building could have been on the southern part of the *orkhestra* from the early performances, if it tangentially intersected the circle.¹⁰³ I agree with Taplin that the *skene*-building was not very large.¹⁰⁴ A new smaller circle marked out in front of the *skene* is unnecessary, since the *skene*-building can intersect the circle slightly without limiting the space of the *orkhestra*.¹⁰⁵

The complicated rebuildings or reshapings of the performance space between 500 and 420 BC suggested by some scholars in an attempt to include a *skene*-building after 458 BC are therefore unnecessary.¹⁰⁶ The argument for a reconstruction is based on 'the immense development in dramatic quality and scenic effect between the *Persians* and the *Oresteia*, which entails some change in the physical conditions of production'.¹⁰⁷ Hammond suggests the introduction of the *okribas*, a wooden temporary platform on the backward third of the *orkhestra*.¹⁰⁸ To allow room in the rest of the *orkhestra* for large crowd scenes, which Hammond considers a characteristic feature of the *Oresteia*, he assumes changes. The most practical possibility is 'to reconstruct the Southeasternmost part of the *orchestra*. This entailed removing the backmost part of the *orchestra*

¹⁰² For this view see Bieber, 1961, 57. Hammond, 1972, 410, suggests that early plays required a *skene* on the western side of the *orkhestra* in order to suggest a change of location from the place represented by the rock outcrop at V, but prefers a *skene* on the eastern side between V and the eastern *eisodos* because it 'could be wholly or partly concealed behind the rock outcrop, and an actor could pass directly from it to the acting-space at V'. For the objections to this staging see the discussion about V in pp.56-7 below.

¹⁰³ Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 10, accepts temporary *skene*-buildings from the first third of the fifth century, cf. *ibid.*22-3. For the difficulties if a *skene* was set inside a segment of the *orkhestra*-circle or outside at the southern edge of the *orkhestra* see Bieber, 1961, 57-9. Wiles, 1997, 52, proposes that a wooden *skene* was set up intersecting the circle. He considers, rightly in my opinion, it more probable that a dramatist set up a screen across the *orkhestra* experimentally for one tetralogy than that there was a redesigning of the whole acting area. Cf. Scullion, 28. Hammond, 1972, 414, suggests that there was a foundation for the *skene*-building. For the objections to Hammond's first *skene* see n.110 below.

¹⁰⁴ Taplin, 1977, 457.

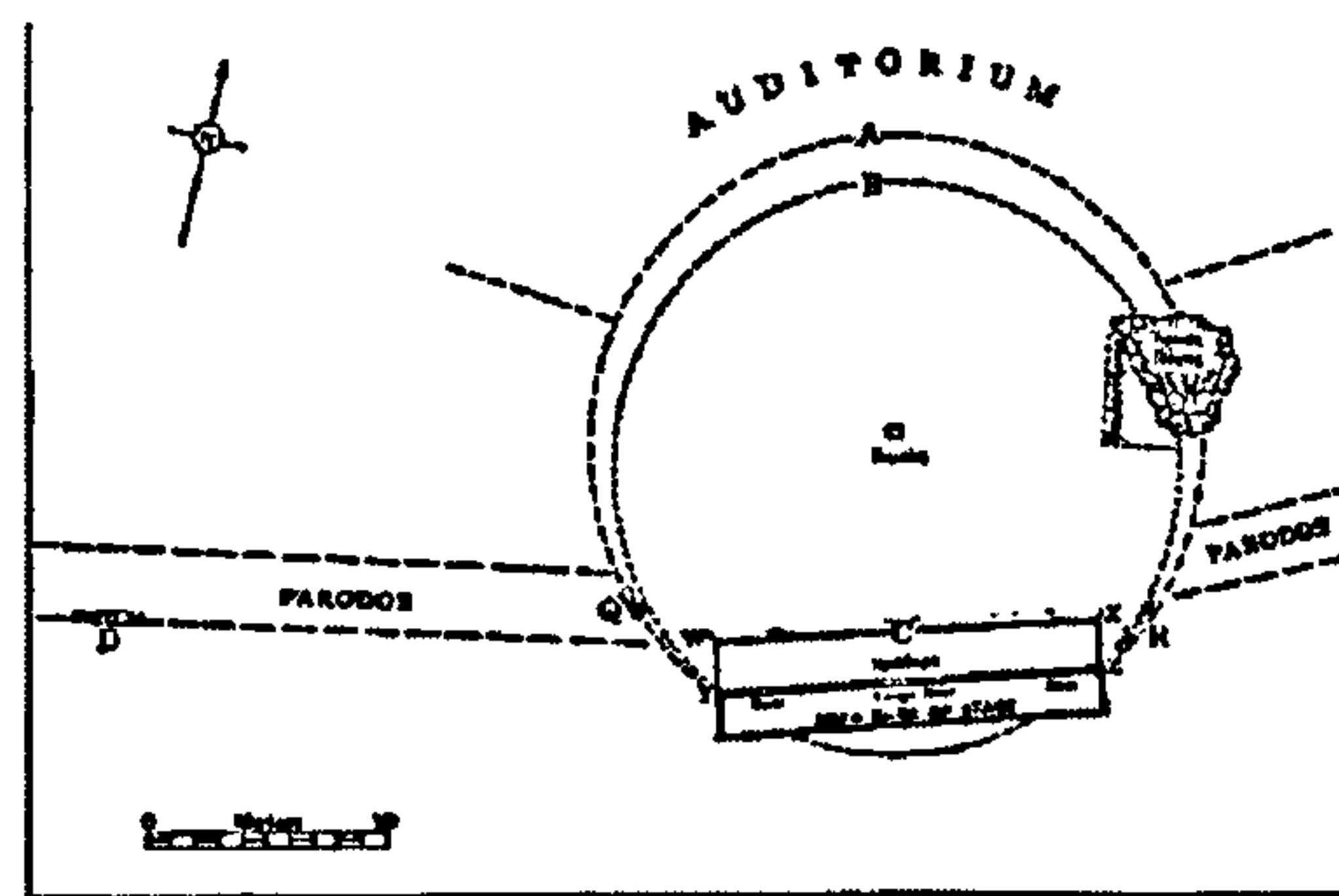
¹⁰⁵ For an obstruction of the dancing ground if a *skene* was inside the *orkhestra* see Bieber, 1961, 59. For a new smaller circle see Taplin, 1977, 457, who thinks that accepting Dörpfeld's great *orkhestra* circle 'the early *skene* would either have to be off out of sight of the audience, or else actually *within* the orchestra circle', which he considers unlikely. See also Bees, 1995, 75.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Bieber, 1961, 69. Polacco, 1990, 166-7, accepts that before the Periklean theatre a programme of rebuilding started but was never completed. Against an intermediate period between 500-420 BC see Dinsmoor, 310.

¹⁰⁷ Hammond, 1972, 411.

¹⁰⁸ For the testimonies see Hammond, 1972, 411-2, citing Them. *Orat.* 26.316D, Pl. *Symp.* 194b and *Life of Aiskhylos* 14. However, Plato seems to refer to its use at the *proagon* while the other two are late sources, whose authority is doubtful. Against the use of late sources in general see Taplin, 1977, 435-6. For the function of the *skene* in relation to the actors see Hammond, 1972,

together with its supporting wall, building in its place a much larger rectangular foundation, and providing on it a platform, a back-stage and a back-entry' (Diagram 3).¹⁰⁹



THE SETTING OF Euripides in 458 B.C.

- A Circle of 26m. diameter as drawn by Dörpfeld
- B Circle of 24m. diameter as drawn by Dörpfeld
- C Forecourt with continuous shallow steps at front
- D Q R V as in Figure 2
- W X Y Z Raised wooden platform resting on very low supporting beams, continuous shallow steps at front
- Y-Z Temple facade with large door and two small doors

(Diagram 3. Hammond's reconstruction, 1972, p.412)

Hammond suggests that Q-R indicate roughly the length of this Aiskhylean stage (namely 18m.).¹¹⁰ In my view, the exact dimensions of the *skene*-building cannot be estimated with accuracy, but what is of interest is that the only reason why a *skene*-building is rejected for the period earlier than 472 BC is not the archaeological difficulty of having a *skene*-building, since this is easily erected, but Hammond's presupposition that the first surviving Aiskhylean plays are more primitive than the *Oresteia*. While it is impossible to detect the exact date when the *skene*-building was introduced, the analysis of the plays and especially *Persai* will show that the first surviving play requires one (472 B.C.).¹¹¹ A functional use of the *skene*-building from the beginning of the performances is, therefore, probable and seems necessary for practical performance reasons but until its dramatic identification within the world of the play is attested there can be no evidence for its presence or absence.¹¹² Its perishable material (wood) explains why there are no traces of it but the lack of remains does not preclude its existence in the theatre from the early fifth century.

411-2. Hammond, 1972, 412, stresses that this temporary building is not to be confused with the wooden platform on the breccia foundations, see pp.50-2 below.

¹⁰⁹ Hammond, 1972, 414. He adds that an implication of it may be inferred from Dörpfeld's excavation.

¹¹⁰ Hammond, 1972, 414, thinks that the walls at Q and R continued to support the *orkhestra*, on which the stage-platform encroached only slightly. Scullion, 50, considers all this a misconception. He concludes that the only certain reconstruction is that the *skene* was erected on the terrace. Bees, 1995, 74, is also against Hammond as this *skene*-building would restrict the playing-area. See also Taplin, 1977, 457, n.3.

¹¹¹ See Bees, 1995, 75.

The *skene*-building must have been temporary at the beginning but possibly became permanent as time passed by.¹¹³ As it gradually received more attention, it is possible that it became more elaborate architecturally and thus it may have been troublesome to re-erect it for every festival. The dithyrambic dances would not be disrupted seriously by its presence at the edge of the *orkhestra*, although this is another issue about which no certainty is possible.

Apart from the date of its introduction, the form of this building is also disputed. A simple rectangular building seems to comply better with the archaeological remains and the requirements of the texts. The existence of *paraskenia* was proposed by many authors on the basis of vases which 'show' them, the most well-known of which are the *Iphigeneia en Taurois* vase and the one currently at Würzburg (figs.1-2).¹¹⁴

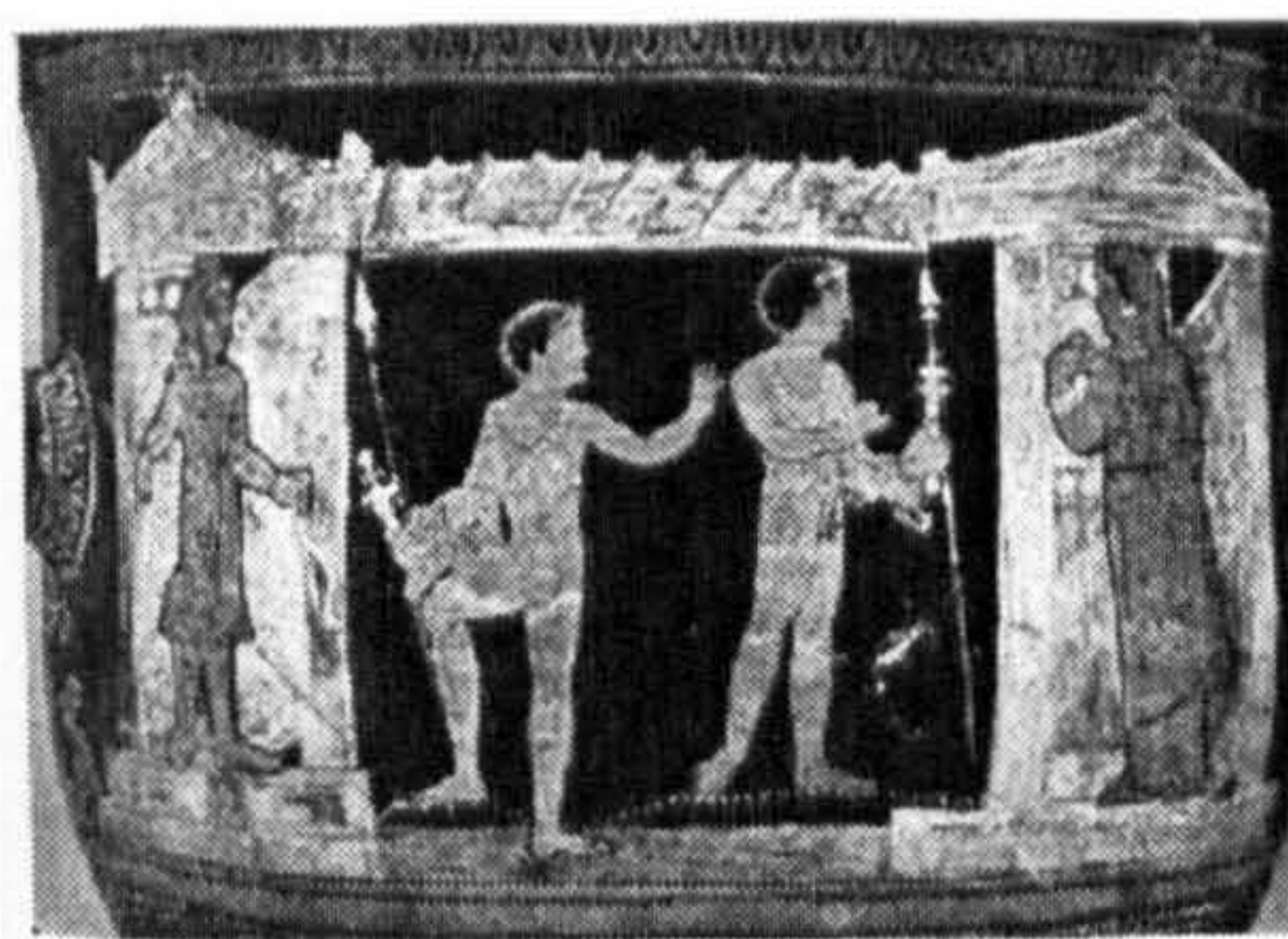


Fig.1 IT. Vase: Louvre (from Ashby, 1999, p.67)

The former shows a wooden structure, with a tiled roof, two projecting *paraskenia* at the sides, each with a shallow pediment decorated with *akroteria*, supported by columns which rise from two considerable steps. However, the vases are an unreliable piece of evidence for the staging of the plays. As Taplin rightly argues 'vase paintings are always difficult to assess as evidence for staging, since the painter may have represented what in the original was purely verbal (e.g.messenger-speeches), and may have conflated separate versions, and may have elaborated and altered on his account'.¹¹⁵ I would add that it is likely

¹¹² See chapter 4, pp.112-3.

¹¹³ Green, 1989, 29, wonders why a wooden stage has to be assumed as temporary. For the contrary view see Bieber, 1961, 63.

¹¹⁴ Bieber, 1961, 66, Walton, 1980, 91. *Paraskenia* are mentioned for the first time by Dem. Meid. xxi 17, but see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 24, n.1, for the different interpretations of this term. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 68, considers it more likely that 'the two side entrances, which are required in a number of plays, were or might be included in projecting side-wings or paraskenia, though, in default of any remains, it can only be conjectured what was the structure and size of these wings'. See also Simon, 1982, 6, n.14. For the form of the *paraskenia* see Bieber, 1961, 68, n.33.

¹¹⁵ Taplin, 1977, 435. See also Taplin, 1993, 23, who suggests that the viewers of a painting 'did not expect an accurate representation of the text or of a performance. The divergences may have been prompted by iconological considerations, or by a local reperformance of the play, or by a mixture of both'. Taplin, 27, adds that 'the painters draw on the tragedy but do not adhere to it;

that the painters also simplified their subject because of the restricted space available. In particular, the *IT*. vase is dated to the fourth century, that is, it is later than the play.¹¹⁶ Its interpretation is also disputable.¹¹⁷

The second piece of evidence is a fragment found in Tarentum and now in Würzburg depicting a wooden *paraskenion*-theatre with slender Ionic columns, rich entablature with Doric frieze, and *akroteria*.



FIGURE 30. Euripides: *Sthenelbona* (?) Würzburg. Courtesy of the Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg.

Fig. 2 Würzburg vase (from Ashby, 1999, p.66)

A point of interest is that the building depicted combines Doric frieze with Ionic columns, a combination which is attested in the fifth century in other areas but not in Athens, in which the Ionic rhythm prevails.¹¹⁸ Bieber accepts the form of the *skene* with side wings for plays after 458 BC assuming that this form remained the same until the fourth century.¹¹⁹

they are free of the temporal sequentiality of the play'. Cf. Green, 1991, 39-40. Against the illustration of tragedy in vases see also Wiles, 1997, 188-9. Padel, 1990, 356, discusses the depiction of the *prothyron* in vases as a metonym for the *skene*.

¹¹⁶ Walton, 1984, 40, says that on some vases 'we are given an impression inspired by a drama, and it is not unreasonable to make at least some proposition from them about the physical appearance of the theatre and its settings. Many of these vases, however, date from the fourth century and are not from Athens anyway. At first sight this would seem to diminish their value'.

¹¹⁷ For the correspondence of this vase to a *skene*-building see Bieber, 1961, 66, 68. Cf. Gogos, 76-7.

¹¹⁸ I owe this observation to Professor Waywell.

¹¹⁹ Bieber, 1961, 66-9. Cf. Moretti, 396. Gogos, 74-8, accepts the wooden *paraskenion* stage in the fourth and even fifth centuries arguing that this vase represents a *skene*-building. Gogos, 76-8, disagrees with Simon-Otto, 127-8, that it depicts a *skenographia* based on the drawing of the door. See Simon-Otto, 129, abb.4-6. Brown, 9, n.33, makes the same comments as Gogos but without referring to him. Cf. Padel, 1990, 357. Leacroft-Leacroft, 14, reconstruct the third phase of the theatre of Dionysos (fig.28) based on these vases. Polacco, 1990, 161-7, based on the remains and Vitruvius V 9,1 argues for a building in the form of a stoa with two wings and two storeys, the one giving access to the ditch used for antennas raising screens in front of the stoa and the other to the scenic area (foot-board and *orkhestra*). For a brief period before the building of the Stoa Polacco adopts a view presented by Broneer, 305-12, namely that the model for the oldest *skene* was the tent of Xerxes, probably resembling the Persian palace architecture. For a detailed account of this view see chapter 4, p.112, n.37.

The argument that the drawings of the earlier Athenian stage buildings made by Fiechter and Mahr without the knowledge of the vases and based on the requirements of the plays, have projecting *paraskenia*, is not convincing at all, especially if we take into account that Fiechter reconstructed a massive stone *skene*-building from the sixth century already influenced by the belief that the tragedies represent a 'Golden Age', which is definitely not the case of the simple fifth-century theatre.¹²⁰

The reconstruction of wings creates architectural and visual problems. The wings would restrict the space of the *eisodoi*. In the fifth century 'the wall C seems incompatible with projecting wings because the *eisodos* would have been almost blocked'.¹²¹ Changes in the *eisodoi* are attested when the Lykurgan theatre was built. The wall C= aA could not then remain as the *analemma* of the auditorium, as it would close the *eisodos* between the *koilon* and the Lykurgan *paraskenion*.¹²² The same principle, however, would apply if *paraskenia* were used at an earlier period.

Since archaeological remains and vases are not conclusive for the existence of the wings, the search for evidence turns to the texts. In order to explain the sudden use of the *paraskenia* Bieber proposes that the *paraskenia* served Euripides' and Aristophanes' needs for a greater number of entrances than their predecessors.¹²³ As, however, will be argued in the following chapters, Aiskhylean and Sophoklean plays, even the early ones, do not differ from those of the late fifth century as greatly as was believed. The 'primitiveness' of Aiskhylos in contrast to the elaborate plays of Euripides is based on misconceptions.¹²⁴ In contrast to Bieber, Pöhlmann, Bees and Goette argue for the need of more entrances and focal points in early Aiskhylos and Sophokles on the grounds of staging visually the changes of scene, for example, in *Aias* and, as

¹²⁰ For this argument see Bieber, 1961, 68 and Fiechter, I, 23-4, figs. 14-15, iii, pls. 18-9, Mahr, figs. 22-24. The elaborate buildings and settings reconstructed by Bulle-Wirsing, 29-53, for some Greek plays also follow the same line of thought.

¹²¹ Wiles, 1997, 59. For this wall see p.35, n.47 above. Polacco, 1990, 53, admits that there is no archaeological evidence for the existence of an enclosed wing at the east of the *skene*-building but assumes the existence of one. Bieber, 1961, 62, assumes several rows of corresponding stone sockets set in the earth floor to the right and left of the *orkhestra* based on the slots of the wall of the Stoa, so that various combinations including *paraskenia*, were possible. However, such stone sockets do not survive, as we would expect since the material is not perishable. For the Stoa see p.50 below.

¹²² Goette, 30.

¹²³ Bieber, 1961, 69.

¹²⁴ See conclusion, pp.195-6.

they believe, in *Persai*.¹²⁵ The need for more entrance points in some plays than in others depends, therefore, on interpretation rather than demonstrable fact. The major issue in both views, however, is the proposed need for more points of focus and, consequently, the question of the number of doors in the *skene*-building.

One of the arguments for the use of wings is that they provide dramatists with the opportunity to present the play in front of three 'buildings'. As Bieber argues, 'the playhouse with two *paraskenia* and the orchestra between could fulfill all conditions of the *mise en scène* by using the buildings one after the other'.¹²⁶ It is, however, generally accepted on the evidence of the texts that there was one door in the fifth century.¹²⁷ Webster argues that, if there were side doors as well as a central door, they were narrow and that 'these doors in the projecting wings would not have been visible to much of the audience and would not have given on to the 'stage' but on to the passages leading to the *orchestra*'.¹²⁸ Recently Pöhlmann and his followers doubted this, suggesting a *skene*-building with three doors- even though they reject the *paraskenia*- for the staging of the changes of scene. In his view, the simple long *skene* without wings offered more flexibility than the *paraskenia* theatre, because with the use of the three doors the focus is not only in the centre of the *skene*.¹²⁹ Thus, in contrast to Bieber, the argument is that the wings restrict the focus of the audience's attention to the central door.¹³⁰ This view is supported by other authors who consider that the *paraskenia* provided 'a much sharper visual focus for the action of the play'.¹³¹ I believe,

¹²⁵ Bees, 1995, 80-99, Pöhlmann, 109-10, Goette, 34. For the (mistaken) notion of a change of scene see chapter 4, p.118.

¹²⁶ Bieber, 1961, 69. Bieber, 68, n.46, says that the unused part of the *skene*-building might easily be hidden temporarily by planks or by curtains, an impractical and discredited view.

¹²⁷ Taplin, 1977, 439-40, claims that 'some tragedies might have used a second door had it been there' (for example, in *Medeia*) but concludes that 'the clear evidence of the plays themselves is that from the introduction of the *skene* down until some time in the fourth century, perhaps early in the century, there was as a rule just one wide central door'. Cf. Scullion, 65. Moretti, 397, argues for one double door but adds that one could 'create other openings by removing side panels'. For a summary of the issue of the doors see Rehm, 1992, 34.

¹²⁸ Webster, 1956, 9. He concludes in p.10 that 'nowhere in tragedy is the use of a side-door necessary or even desirable'. Webster, 1956, 11, however, proposes a new *skene*-building with wide central door and two side-doors for 425 BC as part of the 'Periklean rebuilding' which he accepts. See pp.50-2 below.

¹²⁹ Pöhlmann, 109, 118. Pöhlmann, 135, thinks, however, that the *ekkyklema* could be rolled out from all three doors, which is entirely improbable. Wurster, 25, also defends the long *skene*-building with more than one door but says that the *mekhane* and the *ekkyklema* were presented from the middle one.

¹³⁰ Pöhlmann, 109, discussing the Lykurgan theatre, remarks that the focus was in the middle because of the restriction of the *skene*-building created by the presence of these wings.

¹³¹ Winter, 41.



however, that the wings would have restricted the audience's view of the central door, especially the view of those seated at the sides of the auditorium. In my opinion, the most plausible interpretation of the evidence is that one door was used in Greek tragedies- and comedies, since they shared the same performance space- because, as will be shown in the following chapters, neither in changes of scene nor in later plays is there a need for more than one door. Instead of the use of three doors the dramatist had other, less static means to achieve a dynamic handling of tragic space, such as the play with personal and proxemic spaces, the dramatic activation of the *skene*-building, use of the axes and interaction between visible and invisible spaces.¹³²

The period at which the wooden *skene*-building acquired stone foundations (which have been excavated in the theatre of Dionysos) is also a matter of controversy. The construction of the foundations of a Hall has been associated by some scholars with a 'Periklean reconstruction' or, more accurately, with the period of the Peace of Nikias (421-415 BC).¹³³ On the north and east sides this Hall cut into the rock of the Akropolis slope. To the west it impinged upon the old temple. Its north wall looked to the auditorium while it faced south toward the precinct. Abutting against it was a wall with a platform called T.¹³⁴ Ten slots let into the north face of the wall must have supported a wooden *skene*-building (on either side of T there were five such grooves).¹³⁵ It seems likely that a door led into a back-stage area which was in the Stoa and therefore the Stoa wall was not solid.¹³⁶

¹³² For these see chapter 3, pp.66-104.

¹³³ Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 16-7, thinks that the long straight wall of breccia blocks is Periklean but suggests most of the second half of the fifth century for the whole Periklean reconstruction. See also Webster, 1956, 6, 1960, 495. Allen, 1941, 176, says that the Odeion supplies a clue for the date of the Periklean building programme. Bieber, 1961, 63, 72 and Dinsmoor, 314-5, 329-30, argue for the period of Nikias. Cf. Read, 324 and Winter, 39. For considerable reshaping of the site by 420 BC see Hammond, 1972, 410-11. For a summary of the views about the building and dates of the Stoa see Dinsmoor, 317-24.

¹³⁴ For the possible function of T see Dinsmoor, 326 (*prothyron*), Bieber, 1961, 67 (base for the crane, or decorated as a movable porch, a temple facade, a stairway, an altar), Scullion, 7-8 (foundation of the *ekkyklema*) rejected by Goette, 45, n.57. For other functions of T see Wycherley, 207.

¹³⁵ For the post-holes and their function see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 69 (posts for stock sets). Against this view see Polacco, 1990, 72-3, 163, who relates them to the antennas used for the screens, see n.119 above. He 'reinforces' his assumption, 72, by adducing the similar example of Syracuse (but see p.74 where the analogy breaks down) and indirectly Corinth where, however, the earlier form of the theatre is lost. Polacco, 1990, 72-3, admits that 'meccanismi simili possono (ma direi devono) aver avuto realizzazioni diverse in località diverse, per la diversità dei siti, dei materiali, degli impieghi'.

¹³⁶ For the back door see Hammond, 1972, 415, n.54, Moretti, 396. For a solid wall see Webster, 1960, 504. Against this see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 27, who disagrees because the hall would

The evidence for dating the foundations is based on dedications mentioned in Plato *Gorgias* 472a, and Plutarch *Nikias* iii.3 (a rather doubtful source) and the statue of Dionysos created by Alkamenes (whose last recorded work was executed in 403 BC) in the new temple which is also attributed to Nikias.¹³⁷ However, it is possible that the new statue of Dionysos mentioned by Pausanias (*Perieg.* i.20.3) was intended for the chamber on the west side of the stoa, which might have been built earlier than the temple.¹³⁸ Besides, the reliability of Pausanias as a source is doubted.¹³⁹

The main architectural argument is that, since the new temple of Dionysos and the Hall use the same breccia foundations and have the same orientation, they must have been built at the same time as parts of a single prearranged building scheme.¹⁴⁰ A crucial issue is, therefore, the date of the introduction of breccia, the material also used in the construction of the *analemma* aA.¹⁴¹ Dinsmoor adduces the example of the temple at Rhamnous built in c.436-32 BC, where conglomerate stones were used experimentally.¹⁴² Breccia was believed to have been used in the monument of Dexileos in the 390s but it seems that these stone seat-bases may belong to any architectural phase.¹⁴³

then have been enclosed by a wall on the south side. For the function of the small chamber of the hall as a store-room see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 28, and recently Bees, 1995, 78, Goette, 23.

¹³⁷ For the problems related to Plutarch's reference to Nikias see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 29. For the literary sources see Newiger, 90, who however doubts the rebuilding of the theatre in Nikias' time. For Alkamenes see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 17.

¹³⁸ Wiles, 1997, 60. Kalligas, 1963, 15, argues that the Stoa is related to the temple of Dionysos combining Pausanias' statements with the inscriptions which covered the statue of Alkamenes (*IG* ii² 995, 1035). Travlos, 1971, 537, Kalligas, 1963, 15, suggest that a second temple or some other cult building was there in the fifth century for the statue, but Scullion, 11, n.30, doubts that.

¹³⁹ Scullion, 11, n.31. Another argument has been the inscriptions found on the re-used blocks attributed to the *Proedria* which do not seem to be later than the last quarter of the fifth century. However, as mentioned above, often inscriptions cannot be securely dated. See p.34 and n.46 above.

¹⁴⁰ Dinsmoor, 314-5, 329-30.

¹⁴¹ Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 18, says that 'all that remains from aA is part of the breccia foundations, the blocks of which closely resemble in size those of the new terrace wall and the hall'. See also Bees, 1995, 76. For the different dates attributed to it see Dinsmoor, 319. Dinsmoor, 327, thinks that there was once a precisely symmetrical retaining wall on the east side. Against this Wiles, 1997, 59.

¹⁴² Dinsmoor, 317, assigns the introduction of breccia to the last quarter of the fifth century. Cf. Dörpfeld, 1925, 32. Newiger, 78, remarks that the breccia is not used in the foundation of this temple but accepts its use around Perikles' time. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 17, says that breccia foundations were occasionally laid in the first quarter of the fifth century and were not uncommon in the last half of the century. Scullion, 12-3, retains his doubts.

¹⁴³ Newiger, 87, suggested this monument. He also refers to the monument of the Eponymous Heroes mentioned by Aristophanes even though it is made from conglomerate. See also Winter, 39. Against Newiger's evidence see Wiles, 1997, 60. Scullion, 12-3, remains sceptical. Polacco, 1990, 165-6, proposes the introduction of breccia even in the period at the end of the Persian wars because of its cheapness but there is no evidence for it.

Secure evidence for extensive use of breccia exists only in the fourth century.¹⁴⁴ Recent excavations also indicate that the new temple is a fourth-century building, and, therefore, the breccia foundations should be dated accordingly.¹⁴⁵ This date is based on the sherds found under the new temple.¹⁴⁶ A different reasoning is offered by Wiles who places the Stoa in the later fifth century, on the grounds that it was built because 'the god needed a *stoa* rather than because the audience needed an impressive new façade'.¹⁴⁷ He concludes that there is not a scrap of archaeological evidence for rebuilding in Perikles' day or in the fifth century.¹⁴⁸

Until a fresh excavation offers more facts, any discussion about the dating of the foundations remains speculative. Nevertheless, the important point is that, irrespective of the exact date of the remains, this massive foundation may have had a predecessor which supported the *skene*-building. It might have been made from a perishable material. The fact that the stone foundations do not appear earlier does not imply the complete absence of a *skene*-building in the performance area.¹⁴⁹

If the question of the *skene*-building for which there are some archaeological remains is a disputable one, the question of a raised stage is even more difficult to answer because of the lack of any evidence for it. Since it would have been made of wood and abutted on a wooden *skene*-building nothing remains of it. Therefore, its presence has been seriously doubted and the only acting area for

¹⁴⁴ Goette, 45, n.53. Wycherley, 273, notes that the wall behind the Stoa of Zeus has breccia but it may be later than the Stoa. Winter, 19, says that in the Athenian Agora there is evidence that breccia was used before the middle of the fourth century. Cf. Wiles, 1997, 54.

¹⁴⁵ For a date of the foundations around the middle of the fourth century see Travlos, 1971, 537, Goette, 27, Bees, 1995, 76. For other advocates of this date see Moretti, 381, n.17. Scullion, 13, suggests the first third of the fourth century. Newiger, 88, accepts the date for the temple but argues that the common foundation does not mean that the Hall and the new temple were built simultaneously.

¹⁴⁶ Travlos, 1971, 537-8, concludes that there is no trace of the fifth-century theatre except for the blocks which were reused in the fourth century based on the discovery of potsherds under the new temple. For these see Kalligas, 1963, 14-5, who, however, admits that the archaeological research of the Stoa has not been completed. Whitley, 338, says that 'the available archaeological evidence is perfectly consistent with a date in the early fourth century'.

¹⁴⁷ Wiles, 1997, 61. Wiles, 59-60, rejects a Periklean building programme associated with the introduction of the *theorika* in order to ensure a more orderly and equitable allocation of seating, see Csapo-Slater, 293-5.

¹⁴⁸ Wiles, 1997, 53.

¹⁴⁹ Travlos, 1971, 538, claims that the first large stage is dated at the end of the fourth century. Winter, 39, says that if the breccia foundation is dated in the middle fourth century, 'the whole history of Athenian drama during the fifth and earlier fourth centuries would have unfolded without any substantial provision for dressing-rooms, stage-machinery, and mounting of scenery, which seems very difficult to reconcile with the evidence of the extant plays and fragments'.

both actors and the chorus has been argued to be the *orkhestra*.¹⁵⁰ The main argument is that almost all extant tragedies and all comedies contain scenes in which chorus and actors act together, sometimes even mingling freely, coming to close quarters, or returning together.¹⁵¹ For the existence of a raised stage as a means to distinguish actors from the members of the chorus, since masks made it difficult to distinguish who was talking if all were in the same playing area, the answer is that the actors could easily be distinguished from the chorus because of striking differences in costume.¹⁵² However, the clear structural distinction of tragedy between spoken and lyric parts may have been represented visually.¹⁵³ The difference in costume may not have been adequate especially when the distance of the last rows of the auditorium from the performance area is taken into account. The actor, especially in cases of long monologues, would have been more conspicuous visually if he were on a low raised stage.¹⁵⁴ Although no-one would argue for the high Hellenistic stage in the fifth century BC, a low one offers the advantages of an elevated place, directing the visual focus onto the main characters, without restricting the free communication with the *orkhestra* which is also an area used by the actors.¹⁵⁵ It has also been suggested that there were one or two broad steps in front of the *skene*-building, but these would virtually function as a kind of stage and thus, in principle, a stage is necessary even for those scholars who dismiss it.¹⁵⁶ The low raised stage does not imply a clear-cut distinction between the performance area of the actors and that of the chorus. As in the case of the *amoibaia* in which the actors sang with the chorus, in the same way they may have shared the place of the chorus, namely, the

¹⁵⁰ Bieber, 1961, 60. Against any raised stage are also Flickinger, 1936, 78-103, Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 23, 69-74, Pöhlmann, 63, Ley-Ewans, 77.

¹⁵¹ Bieber, 1961, 68, argues that this is the case even after the actor's part increased.

¹⁵² Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 70-1.

¹⁵³ See Scully, 71-2. Cf. Walton, 1980, 94.

¹⁵⁴ See Taplin, 1977, 441-2, who follows Hourmouziades, 58-74. Dilke, 1948, 141-2, after examination of the spectators' view and the angle of vision in the theatre is in favour of a low raised stage.

¹⁵⁵ Taplin, 1977, 441, proposes a low stage made of wood and one metre high. Cf. Walton, 1980, 92-5, Webster, 1956, 7, Arnott, 1962, 6-20. Taplin, 1977, 441, remarks that 'Arnott leans heavily on late sources which were long ago discredited'. Hourmouziades, 66-72, based on the plays shows that the obstruction of the free movement between *orkhestra* and stage with a low stage is not valid. For the opposite view see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 74.

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, Wiles, 2000, 106, Simon, 7. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 74, suggests that 'all that seems to have been required in the fifth century is the provision... of one or two broad steps supporting [in some plays] an altar, or of the steps which would naturally form the basis of a temple or palace- in other words, the basis of the *scaenae frons*'.

orkhestra.¹⁵⁷ The low stage does not imply a superiority of the actors to the chorus-members but only their different function allowing simultaneously for easy unification with them when necessary, as, for example, when the chorus enters the *skene*-building in *Helene*.¹⁵⁸

Since there are no archaeological remains of a stage, other kinds of secondary or indirect evidence may prove useful. The audience's interest in the actors' performance is a significant factor in favour of its existence. Even though it is normally argued that this interest is a characteristic feature of the fourth century BC (as Aristotle, *Rhet.*iii.i, shows), the institution in 449 BC of a separate competition for the actors is strong evidence of the importance of the actors and especially protagonists in the fifth century and is reinforced by the fact that the selection of the protagonist was made by the state.¹⁵⁹ It is also significant that only the names of the protagonists were inscribed side by side with those of the poets and *khoregoi* on the records of the competitions, as if they alone had acted the plays.¹⁶⁰ The rise and official recognition of the profession of the actor may have been spatially expressed by the existence of a low raised stage for them.

The vases depicting theatre buildings and especially stages are also adduced as evidence, but as mentioned above, are not to be relied upon. The *IT*. vase which was discussed in connection with the *skene*-building above (fig.1) has also been used as proof of the absence of a stage in the theatre of the fifth century.¹⁶¹ However, a more reliable vase because of its date and origin might be a red-figure *oinokhoe* of 425/400 BC in Athens which shows a low stage reached by a

¹⁵⁷ See Scully, 74, for a similar point. The actors seem to be isolated from the chorus when they are in lyric exchange with it, which might have been indicated spatially by distance rather than proximity between them.

¹⁵⁸ See chapter 3, p.72.

¹⁵⁹ *I.G.*ii² 2318, fr.b attests the competition for the Dionysia of 447-446 BC, which taking into consideration the fragment's relative position, must have been instituted in 449 BC; cf. *I.G.* ii² 2325. According to Pickard-Cambridge, 1988, 93, 'it is natural to connect the actors' selection by the state with the introduction of prizes for them, though there is no direct evidence about this and the change may have come later, perhaps even in the fourth century', but cf. Csapo-Slater, 226-227. Rehm, 1988, 279, argues that the differences between actors and chorus were not incorporated into theatre architecture until the Hellenistic and Neronian periods. However, in my view, it seems unlikely that the importance of the actor was not spatially expressed at all in the fifth century.

¹⁶⁰ Inscriptions *I.G.* ii² 2319-23.

¹⁶¹ Bieber, 1961, 66, says that this vase 'proves' that the plays were acted in the fourth century not on a *proskenia*, a stage between the *paraskenia*, but in front of the *skene* and between the *paraskenia* on the ground floor in the *orkhestra*.

flight of four steps (depicting most likely a comic actor). Webster believes that it offers information about the 'Periklean' theatre.¹⁶²

The existence of a raised stage might also be argued on the grounds of the need for a predecessor for the Hellenistic high raised stage, which seems unlikely to have been a sudden innovation of that period. In an attempt to exclude the possibility that the Hellenistic stage was a development from the low raised stage of the classical theatre, Wiles, who rejects the raised stage in the fifth century, claims that the 'adoption of the Hellenistic 'high stage' would have been a simple transition if the roof of a stage-building inside the focal circle came to be used as a platform by actors'.¹⁶³ He does not relate this development to the increasing prominence of the actor but claims that 'the actors would simply have taken over in a more rationalist age a space formerly allocated to gods'.¹⁶⁴ In the fifth century, however, as the surviving tragedies show, the roof is not reserved exclusively for the gods but is also used by humans, while, conversely, gods also appear on the ground level, especially in Euripidean prologues.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the reperformances of fifth-century plays in Hellenistic theatres strongly suggest the need for continued provision of a dedicated space for divine appearances.

The theatre of Epidauros has also been mentioned as an argument against the existence of a stage. The acoustics of the theatre of Epidauros show that the strongest acoustic point is the centre of the *orkhestra*.¹⁶⁶ Apart from the fact that the theatre of Epidauros was not built on the same pattern as the theatre of Dionysos and thus any comparisons must be treated with caution, there is no *skene*-building in the theatre in its present surviving form. Ley-Ewans accept 'that the emphasis for an actor, dependent as much on the power and range of his voice as on marked gesture, should be on the acoustic centre of the *theatron* seems to us an almost inescapable conclusion, which can surely be confirmed by

¹⁶² Webster, 1956, 7 (fig. B1) and Csapo-Slater, 64-5, plate 4B, who characterise it as the only Attic vase which depicts a stage and a theatre audience. See also Scully, 69-70. Cf. Leacroft-Leacroft, 10.

¹⁶³ Wiles, 1997, 53.

¹⁶⁴ Wiles, 1997, 53. This socio-religious line of thought is also detected in Wiles, 58, where he suggests the alignment of god, door and altar in the fifth-century theatre of Dionysos.

¹⁶⁵ In *Agamemnon* the Guard, a secondary figure, appears on the roof, while *Phoinissai* includes a *teikhoskopia* from there. For the Euripidean divine prologues and the use of the roof in tragedies see chapter 3, pp.81-2.

¹⁶⁶ Ley-Ewans, 77, say that 'the acoustics are demonstrably at their best at this central point, and in the absence of any stage, certainly of any substantial raised or extended platform, play comes forward'. They argue that the actor used this point where his voice would best be heard.

the increasing influence of the actor, and an accompanying sense of professionalism, in the dramatic competitions'.¹⁶⁷ Thus they admit the interest in the actors' performance in the fifth century but reject a raised stage in the theatre. One point which they seem not to have taken into serious account is that the erection of a *skene*-building at the back of the *orkhestra* would affect the acoustics of the theatre. Moreover, a raised stage in front of the *skene*-façade would have facilitated the projection of the actors' voices and have made the actor not only acoustically but also visually prominent, creating a second area of strong vocal and visual focus.¹⁶⁸ Without the *skene*-building in the performance area, any assumption about the acoustics of the theatre must remain inconclusive.¹⁶⁹

Literary testimonies are the least reliable source of evidence but they also point towards the need for the acceptance of a stage in the fifth-century theatre. An *eleos* is mentioned in the early stages of tragedy which in the view of some authors later develops into a raised acting area.¹⁷⁰ Hor. *Ars Poet.* 276-7 refers to Thespis' wagon.¹⁷¹ So, the *eleos* and the 'wagon' of Thespis suggest a belief that from the earliest times the actor was on a somewhat higher level than the chorus.¹⁷² The location of this elevation is not, however, at the rear of the *orkhestra* in the view of some advocates of the raised stage. According to Hammond, in the early plays of Aiskhylos the rock at V was used, since it provided a natural *bema*.¹⁷³ On the analogy of the Agora, as he reconstructs it, he places an acting space on a part of the side close to the audience either at V or at a place on the west side corresponding to V.¹⁷⁴ He suggests that an actor standing on the rock at V could project his voice at different angles by turning his head, which, however, in a large scale auditorium is impossible to be noted.

¹⁶⁷ Ley-Ewans, 82.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Goette, 34, who brings this argument for the raised Hellenistic stage.

¹⁶⁹ It is interesting in this respect that Ley-Ewans, 82, also admit that 'the actor is visually at his most dominant on *any* point along a line drawn from the centre of the *orchestra* to the *skene* door; aurally, without doubt, he is at his most commanding at the centre of the *orchestra*' (my emphasis). Thus the need to take the *skene*-building into consideration is apparent.

¹⁷⁰ Pollux 4.123; see Polacco, 1990, 162-3. Hammond, 1972, 447-9, also detects a development from the *eleos* of the performances in the villages and the platform of a *skene* in the Agora to the raised acting area in the theatre of Dionysos. See, however, Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 71, who thinks that Pollux' statement is open to objections. See n.108 above for the objection to the use of late sources as evidence.

¹⁷¹ Hammond, 1972, 398, Polacco, 1990, 26-7.

¹⁷² Webster, 1956, 7. See also Walton, 1980, 94-5.

¹⁷³ Hammond, 1972, 410.

¹⁷⁴ Hammond, 1972, 409.

If both a *skene*-building (which is what his stage-platform roughly corresponds to) and the rock are used, the actor is seen when he passes from the one to the other for changes of scene. Especially if the *skene* is on the western side, he has to pass to the outer end of the *eisodos* at the other side by keeping below and close to the wall at the back of the *orkhestra*. The passing of both the *skene*-building and the rock makes the staging unnecessarily complicated. The *skene*-building with the rock outcrop would also significantly restrict the free space of the *orkhestra*. Moreover, the attention of the audience is towards the middle or the back of a circular *orkhestra*, not at the sides.¹⁷⁵ The visible area for acting against V is squeezed in within a metre of the southeastern end of the auditorium, which would make it difficult to see from other parts of the seating, especially in the easternmost sector.¹⁷⁶

Another similar suggestion but with a raised rock (*pagos*) in the middle of the *orkhestra* was proposed by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.¹⁷⁷ The main objection, however, to this suggestion is that the actor could not change his role, that is his costume, if he was visible from all sides. It is also an 'intolerable obstruction'.¹⁷⁸

Hammond's theory of an elevated acting space interestingly exploits the notion of a natural *bema*. This notion recalls another piece of evidence which is important for the acceptance of the existence of a raised stage and, specifically, has acoustic advantage. Even though it is not a theatrical space, the Pnyx offers an interesting parallel to the performance space of the theatre of Dionysos in this respect. In both the notion of looking down on a speaker or speakers is dominant.¹⁷⁹ One of the main suppositions in arguments against the raised stage is that it does not comply with democratic Greek thinking about space.¹⁸⁰ Hierarchy was, however, part of the democracy in Athens (Thuk. *Hist.* 2. 65, 18-9 ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς

¹⁷⁵ See also Bees, 1995, 81-2.

¹⁷⁶ Scullion, 47-8. Bees, 1995, 82, 87, also brings the same argument against Hammond's hypothesis. Scullion, 44-5, also remarks that, since V is north of the centre of the terrace, 'it must seem much more likely that the natural rise provided a foundation for seating' rather than acting. Scullion, 48-9, rejects Hammond's evidence for the outcrop in vases. Melchinger, 20-22, 82-90, also proposed a rib of rock between his *orkhestra* and the part of the retaining wall from R northward. Against, see Scullion, 44-5, Bees, 1995, 82, Hammond, 1988, 5-6.

¹⁷⁷ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 608.

¹⁷⁸ Pöhlmann, 53, Taplin, 1977, 117. See also Bees, 1995, 82, for the arguments against Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

¹⁷⁹ See Wycherley, 204, for the assembly place on the Pnyx as a 'theater'. Cf. Wise, 130.

¹⁸⁰ Wiles, 1997, 63-66. Against Wiles' reading of Vernant's observations see Scully, 68.

ἀρχή).¹⁸¹ Perikles delivered the funeral oration on a 'high platform' (Thuk. *Hist.* 2.34, 7-9 προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως ἀκούοιτο ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ ὁμίλου).¹⁸² In my opinion the speaker's platform in the Pnyx offers a persuasive parallel for the raised stage in the theatre (the need for the speaker to be heard clearly is also noticeable).¹⁸³ The speaker has to receive the attention of the spectators and if this occurred in the Pnyx by means of a platform, there is no reason to assume that it would be otherwise in the theatre.¹⁸⁴ Wiles' premise that the theatre is a reversal of the political assembly is questionable, since in many plays the audience feels itself to be part of a jury and, through the *agon*, watches the characters' conflicts as if in a court or an assembly.¹⁸⁵

The date at which a low raised stage may have been introduced is a matter of pure speculation.¹⁸⁶ Possibly the introduction of the third actor and the use of the *ekkyklema* accentuated the need for it.¹⁸⁷ The question remains open. Its location, however, at the back of the *orkhestra*, in front of the *skene*-building seems unquestionable and even Hammond accepts one there after the removal of the peculiar rock at V.¹⁸⁸

I have left discussion of the issue of the *skenographia* until last for two reasons. First, because it is not an integral part of the review of archaeological remains but is more closely related to the performance in general. Second, because secure architectural evidence for it is attested only in the Hellenistic

¹⁸¹ See Ober, 84-95. Carey, 2000, 23, notes that 'even under the democracy Athenian political leaders had traditionally been drawn from old families whose wealth was primarily in land'. On the emphasis on the individual in political debate, see Carey, 2000, 67. Rhodes, on 65.9 says that Perikles was merely one of the ten generals but admits that the general line of Athenian policy was his.

¹⁸² Rhodes, 2.34. Cf. Bassi, 347-8. See Scully, 70-4 for other literary evidence basically the words ἀναβαίνειν, καταβαίνειν in Aristophanes and the reference to a *bema* in the orators. See chapter 3, pp.67-8.

¹⁸³ Their difference in form does not exclude their common function: the need to offer an elevated space for the speaker. See also Scully, 73. For the similarity between theatres and courts see also Wise, 130.

¹⁸⁴ For the reconstruction of the Pnyx see Wiles, 1997, 34-5. Goette, 34, draws the same parallelism between the *bema* and the Hellenistic raised stage arguing that the reason is the central position of the Statesman. However, it is not only in the Lykurgan period that the focus is on one man since Perikles also received all the attention in the funeral oration.

¹⁸⁵ See, for example, chapter 5, pp.144-5. For Wiles' premise see p.39 above.

¹⁸⁶ Winter, 41, says that 'perhaps as early as the late fifth-century Athenian designers had experimented with a low wooden stage'.

¹⁸⁷ For the use of the *ekkyklema* see chapter 3, p.94, n.163.

¹⁸⁸ Hammond, 1972, 449, accepts that 'the forecourt or rectangular area immediately in front of the façade was probably raised above the *orchestra* by some two or three continuous shallow steps', thus offering less elevation than the one of the *pagos*.

period with references to *periaktoi*, whose function is unclear, but which seem to have been mainly intended to show changes of scene.¹⁸⁹

The meaning of the term is disputable. Most scholars claim that *skenographia* is related to the use of painted panels on the *skene*-façade in order to create different settings for the plays.¹⁹⁰ The use of movable screens is not, however, archaeologically attested for fifth-century drama, but only for the Hellenistic and later periods. Any suggestion about painting in the theatre of Dionysos can only be speculative, since the panels or movable screens, if any, would have been mounted on the wooden *skene* which has also left no trace. The only piece of evidence available about *skenographia* is in later documentary testimonies: Arist.*Poet.*1449a, 18 and Vitruvius vii, *praef.* 11. The former reports that Sophokles introduced *skenographia* (that is, after 468 BC, the date of his first production), while the latter refers to an architectural design in perspective which Agatharkhos of Samos executed for a play of Aiskhylos.¹⁹¹

Before considering these sources further, it may be worth suggesting an interpretation of *skenographia* implicit in the growing scenic awareness of the plays themselves. *Skenographia* may have indicated the recognition of the *skene*-building in the play. Γράφω does not only mean 'draw, paint' but also 'write, inscribe' and, as the dramatists started giving a particular dramatic identity to the *skene*-building, it was 'written', 'engraved' within the world of the play as a specific dramatic location.¹⁹² The evidence which attributes the introduction of *skenographia* to Sophokles may, therefore, be accounted for somewhat differently. Sophokles started his career shortly before the *Oresteia*, which offers the first extant example in *Agamemnon* of consistent identification of the *skene*-building with a palace. Sophokles' *Aias* is not dated accurately but is not much

¹⁸⁹ Pollux, iv, 126, Vitruv.v.vi, 8 refer to the *periaktoi*. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 126-7, 234-8, says that it is practically certain that this device belongs to the later history of the stage. Walton, 1980, 98-9, 107-8, accepts the possibility of their existence in changes of scene in fifth-century tragedy.

¹⁹⁰ For the terminology and the use of the word in Greek and Latin see Padel, 1990, 347-9. She suggests, 348-9, the use of one architectural background which stayed on the *skene* through all tragedies. Cf. Trendall-Webster, 9, Simon, 22. Walton, 1980, 103-7, proposes that these architectural features were painted until the Periklean theatre modified them into wood and scenic units were added. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 54, suggests three sets: a palace, a temple and a cave. Webster, 1956, 17, also suggests the use of sea or landscape back-cloths.

¹⁹¹ Note, however, that Brown, 1-8, following Else, 1957, 164-79, deletes the lines from the *Poetics*. See also Taplin, 1977, 457, n.4. For sources of the word *skenographia* in different contexts, see Brown, 8, n.31. For Vitruvius see Padel, 1990, 347, n.46.

¹⁹² *LSJ* sv.γράφω ii, 2.

later or earlier than the *Oresteia*.¹⁹³ In *Aias* there is a change of scene but the location where especially the first part takes place is defined more clearly than those in earlier Aiskhylean plays, *Persai*, *Hepta*, *Hiketides*, which remain vague until quite late in the play.¹⁹⁴ The cluster of events closely related to the *Oresteia* indicate that the *skene*-building started gaining increasing dramatic significance in the plays around 460 and, possibly, that Sophokles was the first to identify the *skene*-building with specific locations throughout his plays. The permanent dramatic identity of the *skene*-building possibly then opened the way for painting or decorative additions to reinforce the identification visually.¹⁹⁵ The need for visual representation of the dramatic location could be related to Vitruvius' statement about Agatharkhos and perspective painting, even though as will be shown later, it might be a misinterpretation.

The date of the event mentioned by Vitruvius depends on whether the Aiskhylean play was a first production or a revival. Some scholars ascribe it to the period before the middle of the fifth century, that is, before Aiskhylos' death but late in his lifetime.¹⁹⁶ Others, however, attribute it to the period after his death.¹⁹⁷ The independent evidence about Agatharkhos shows that he was famous in the second half of the fifth century. The only other reference to him apart from Vitruvius which may contribute to dating Agatharkhos' career occurs in Andokides *Kata Alkibiadou* 17, where he is mentioned as having painted the walls of Alkibiades' house.¹⁹⁸ The problem remains whether Vitruvius' statement is reliable and since there is no other source available, detailed examination of his testimony is required.

Vitruvius says: 'primum Agatharchus Aeschylus docente scaenam fecit...'. The advocates of the late date suggest that Vitruvius or his source was interpreting a didascalic notice which referred to a revival of an Aiskhylean play in the late

¹⁹³ The chronology of *Aias* is disputable but it seems to be close to the *Oresteia*. See Garvie, 1998, 6-8.

¹⁹⁴ See also chapter 3, pp.68-9 about the setting of the plays.

¹⁹⁵ This does not exclude the use of some decoration, statues and props for the identification of the setting in the early Aiskhylean plays, see chapter 4, p.118.

¹⁹⁶ Bieber, 1961, 59 (but she accepts a later date for the development of a definite form around the last quarter of the fifth century), Hammond, 1972, 413 (around 468-456 BC), Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 23, 124-5, Kenner, 1954, 155 (second quarter of fifth century).

¹⁹⁷ Rumpf, 13, offers a date around 440 BC on the basis that there were revivals of the Aiskhylean plays and thus there is no reason to accept that the testimony about Agatharkhos should refer exclusively to a play presented in Aiskhylos' lifetime. Webster, 1956, 14, Hourmouziades, 40, Lesky, 264 also suggest the second half of the fifth century. Cf. Winter, 39-40. Pollitt, 56, n.15, concludes that the date of Agatharkhos is a problem.

¹⁹⁸ See Rumpf, 13, n.33. For other references to Agatharkhos see the account of Gogos, 71.

fifth century. However, it seems unlikely that the *didaskaliai* would refer to the scenographer. There is normally reference there only to the dramatist, the protagonist and the *khoregos*.¹⁹⁹ Vitruvius continues that Agatharkhos influenced Demokritos and Anaxagoras to work out the rules of perspective. Demokritos was born around 460 BC and Anaxagoras died in 428 BC. To explain the apparent inconsistency of the two testimonies, Webster suggests that Aristotle refers to painted panels while Vitruvius uses 'scene-painting' in its technical sense of 'perspective back-cloth'. He argues that perspective on this scale is known to us from art of the late fifth century.²⁰⁰

A brief consideration of the use of perspective in art may be helpful. Richter defines perspective as 'a way of representing depth on a flat surface'.²⁰¹ Despite, however, the gradual interest displayed by artists in perspective, she detects only intermittent attempts to achieve it but with difficulty still apparent, especially in linear perspective. Adducing Plato *Politeia* X 598, she remarks that Plato lived at a time 'when the innovations in linear perspective were as yet unfamiliar'.²⁰² Vases have often been used as evidence of perspectival painting in theatre buildings. Webster refers to an Attic picture of the *Iphigeneia en Taurois* which shows a wooden structure and a pediment with *akroteria*, supported by columns. These rise from two considerable steps, and shelter a primitive statue of Artemis, before which a table of offerings stands. He considers it likely that the vase-painter gives us the actual wooden front which was visible in the Euripidean play.²⁰³ The Würzburg vase, also mentioned above, has similarly been adduced

¹⁹⁹ Csapo-Slater, 227-9. Gogos, 72, based on Cantarella, 412, n.3, argues that in cases of reproductions the word ἀναδιδάσκω and not διδάσκω (docente) is used.

²⁰⁰ Webster, 1956, 13-4. Webster, 14, accepts that Aristotle might use *skenographia* 'in its technical sense of 'perspective back-cloth''. On the doors in vases depicted in perspective see Padel, 1990, 357, cf. Gogos, 72-77. Padel, 1990, 352, suggests that *skene*-painting started as foreshortened architectural forms and 'was associated with perspective when perspective did arrive'.

²⁰¹ Richter, 2.

²⁰² See Richter, 30-6, for the use of perspective in the second half of the fifth century, especially 32-5. Citing the example of a fragment from Würzburg representing a temple, she concludes that its parts are not interrelated as seen from one point of view. Richter, 1, says that the progression in linear perspective was slow and always remained partial. For the period between 530-450 BC and the first suggestions of a third dimension see Richter, 21-9, especially 26-8. For development in perspective see Childs, 85-6, Fullerton, 120-1. Spivey, 145, is sceptical. Padel, 1990, 351-3, explains the complex spatial relationship on an Athenian krater of the second quarter of the fifth century as a deliberate visual paradox and play with ways of seeing which, further, reflects the play between objectivity and subjectivity of tragedy. However, there is no indication of this and most likely the krater reflects the clumsiness in the use of perspective.

²⁰³ Webster, 1956, 15.

as an example of perspectival *skenography*.²⁰⁴ However, both belong to the fourth century. Based on the half-hiding figures behind rocks seen on vases of the second quarter of the fifth century and an Attic black-figure *lekythos* by the Edinburgh painter of the early fifth century (called 'Odysseus and the sirens') Webster argues that 'early fifth-century painting suggests the possibility of the existence of screens representing rocks and possibly of landscape back-cloths' in the theatre.²⁰⁵ The evidence of vase-paintings is, however, of doubtful value since the theatre buildings- if these scenes are actually theatrical- are restricted to the confined dimensions of the vase, which may reinforce the need for a perspectival depiction of large buildings. Gogos admits that 'die produzierten Vasenbilder mit Bühnenszenen nur das Wichtigste zeigen konnten, wobei die Bühnenarchitektur meist stark verkürzt angegeben wurde'.²⁰⁶ Vases, then, do not offer reliable evidence for the use of perspective in the fifth-century theatre and the suggestion that they reflect attempts at three-dimensional depiction in mural painting which influenced *skenographia* is doubtful because of the lack of evidence about the way wall-painting was achieved.²⁰⁷

It, therefore, seems legitimate to argue that if perspective in art was not fully developed, it might not have reached in the fifth century the level of perspectival *skene*-painting, at least in its modern sense, which implies a large degree of realistic depiction of a building or other location for which evidence is lacking in the fifth century.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ See Gogos, 84-5, who is sceptical about the use of central perspective (Zentralperspektive) in the fifth and fourth centuries and suggests that Agatharkhos 'dürfte... die Anwendung von mehreren Fluchtpunkten gekannt haben und wohl auch die senkrechte Mittellinie'.

²⁰⁵ Webster, 1956, 16-7. He also refers to an Attic vase of the mid-sixth century (F 2, a black-figure kylix called 'carnival giants: satyr and fat man', in p.192).

²⁰⁶ Gogos, 86. But he continues that the vases 'können uns häufig einen recht guten Eindruck von Bühnenaufbau vermitteln und aufschlußreich für die Bühnenausstattung sein'.

²⁰⁷ Padel, 1990, 349-57, argues for the mediating effect of mural painting but her only evidence about it is Paus. 1.17.3 for Polygnotos. Her argument is based on the attempt to show that the vase-painters copy the wall-painters' techniques which however nobody can actually define, since there is no surviving trace of their works. Against this view see Rehm, 2002, 18-9. Peck, (*Perseus*), s.v. *pictura*, rejects the view that Polygnotos used perspective or created illusion in his paintings. Fawkes in *Perseus* remarks on the differences between mural and vase painting and especially the varying levels in the wall-composition in contrast to the single ground line in vase paintings. Richter, 29, detects a reflection of the innovations of Polygnotos in the representation of objects on a calyx-krater dated to 455-50 BC but concludes that the difference in zones is not yet realised.

²⁰⁸ Gardner, 257, states that 'Agatharkhos painted the flat wall of the *skene* in perspective, to create the impression of a real building'. See also Padel, 1990, 352 for the creation of illusion practiced by the mural-painters and expanding to *skene*-painting. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 124, n.6 remarks that we cannot determine 'how much of the 'effects' required in a background was secured by perspective drawing and how much was structural'. Peck, s.v. *pictura*, says that

A more appropriate approach to *skenographia* therefore seems to be the acceptance of a symbolic depiction through decorations which functioned as indicators of the dramatic location, whether these were painted panels or simply props which played the role of identifiers of a place. Walton rightly says that Agatharkhos may have painted *part* of a setting in order to identify the *whole*.²⁰⁹ He assumes that the setting could have suggested the equivalence of a caption or perhaps some major theme of the play. If the audience were used to 'reading' painting and sculpture, the formalised shorthand would already have been familiar and much easier to recognise.²¹⁰ Art offers many examples of such symbolic representations.²¹¹ In my view, a representation through forms of decoration which would have been more or less stylised and which would be complemented by the imagination of the audience through verbal description might be more convenient than panels because it would also solve the problem of time which the use of panels presupposes, especially in changes of scene, if they were visually represented.²¹² An elaborate panel, even if it was within the creative abilities of a painter, would still be difficult to change between the plays of a trilogy.²¹³

A further indication against the use of large painted panels is the Hellenistic *skene*-façade. The elaboration of the architectural features which is assumed for the Hellenistic *scaenae frons* possibly implies that its predecessor also had some kind of decoration or architectural designs in a simple form which developed in the Hellenistic period.²¹⁴ The use of a panel portraying a three-dimensional façade with architectural shapes (such as columns), as Padel suggests, instead of

attempt at illusion starts with Agatharkhos, and continues with Apollodoros around 420 BC until it develops at the end of the century.

²⁰⁹ Walton, 1984, 49-50. Wiles, 1997, 206, concludes that 'the key to creating a sense of place in fifth-century theatre was not the art of the scenographer but the deployment of objects and bodies in the three-dimensional space of the *orchestra*... the theatre had at its disposal a range of simple signifying objects which could, when used sparingly and in novel contexts and combinations, generate remarkably complex meanings'. See also Brown, 9-10, against Hourmouziades, 35-57.

²¹⁰ Walton, 1984, 50. See Wiles, 1997, 202-5, for objects which identify a setting (temple, grove). Cf. Rehm, 2002, 19, n.104, Pittas-Herschbach, 18.

²¹¹ Peck, s.v. *pictura*, argues for a great deal of symbolism in paintings. Rehm, 2002, 18, considers this visual economy and indexical signalling of place more important than the development of perspective.

²¹² Cf. Webster, 1956, 15-6. Bieber, 1961, 59, suggests the change of panels between the plays.

²¹³ See Webster, 1956, 15, who mentions a similar difficulty in the case of the temple façade in *Ion*.

²¹⁴ The *skene* façade of the Hellenistic theatre is a matter of dispute but it seems that it had elaborate architectural features (columns, *geison*), see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 176-8, Csapo-Slater, 80-1 and plate 15A. Cf. the Roman *scaenae frons* see Csapo-Slater, 85 and plate 16A. There is no evidence about the Hellenistic *skene*-façade of the theatre in Athens.

an actual building with such shapes in the fifth century does not contribute to the dramatic identification of the *skene*-building with a dramatic location any more than a simple façade without panels.²¹⁵ The use of the *periaktoi* in Hellenistic theatre as a development from the supposed panels of the fifth century does not seem convincing. Although their function is not clear, *periaktoi* are regarded to have been three-sided structures with different panels on each side which turned according to the dramatic needs, especially for visualising changes of scene.²¹⁶ However, as discussed above, what characterises the majority of the surviving fifth-century tragedies is the restriction of the dramatic action to one setting and thus their function seems to point in a quite different direction from the requirements of the classical plays.

In conclusion, *skenographia* in the form of movable screens is not evidenced in the theatre of Dionysos. Without excluding some kind of visual representation of the dramatic location through stylised decoration in front of the *skene*-façade, it has been argued above that *skenographia* might have begun as the incorporation of the *skene*-building into the world of the play. This was possibly followed by the need for visual depiction in combination with the verbal description which is a characteristic feature of tragedies, especially in the late fifth century.²¹⁷

The discussion of the archaeology of the theatre of Dionysos can only lead to speculative conclusions. The architectural space as sketched here with a circular *orkhestra*, a *skene*-building and low raised stage and use of decorations and props, is one part of the reconstruction. It provides the physical space in which tragedy mapped its plays and, since it was a given for the dramatist, it is closely interwoven with the creation of the dramatic space. The use of this space in Greek tragedy through its dramatic identification with the location of the play and its activation by the actors is indicated by the combined examination of the plays. The focus of following chapters is, therefore, on the evidence of the texts for the handling of performance space and the other kinds of space in the fifth

²¹⁵ Padel, 1990, 348. Hournouziades, 41, thinks that the architectural features of the façade were constructed in wood in the fifth century. Brown, 12, also remarks that the simple fifth-century *skene* was different from the naturalism of the *scaenae frons*, because 'the painted landscape was cut off abruptly at the top and to left and right, with a real landscape visible beyond'.

²¹⁶ For their use see also Ashby, 1999, 92-3, Brown, 9. See also n.189 above.

²¹⁷ See chapter 3, pp.66-9.

century. The next chapter offers a general view of this approach, focusing on the analysis of the categories of space, which were proposed in the first chapter.

CHAPTER 3. TRAGIC SPACE

After suggesting spatial categories which seem appropriate to the consideration of tragic space in chapter 1 and presenting the archaeological evidence for the principal architectural space of tragedy, the theatre of Dionysos, in chapter 2, I now proceed to the analysis of the texts. Before examining particular exemplifying cases in detail, I offer in this chapter a more general account of space in Greek tragedy, drawing widely on the works of Aiskhylos, Sophokles and, more selectively, of Euripides.¹ The proposed categories and their interrelations are analysed and examined in the ways in which they may affect the creation of meaning and the dynamics of tragic space. For reasons explained in chapter 1, time in Greek tragedy is included only in cases where it illuminates spatial phenomena.

1. Performance and dramatic spaces

In the previous chapter the focus of the analysis was on the scarce archaeological evidence for the architectural space in which fifth-century tragedies took place. As mentioned in chapter 1, however, performance space is also generated by the actors' use of the architectural space during the performance.² In the following section performance space is examined in relation to dramatic space in both these dimensions, that is, the dramatic identification of the architectural space and the relationships between characters according to the configuration of the performers' positions in this space. The analysis of performance and dramatic space together is justified by their close association since, as discussed in chapter 1, the performance space was a given based on which the dramatist created his plays.³ Such an approach is also useful in illuminating the dynamic interrelation of spaces and its semantics.

Before the play the architectural space does not represent a particular location until it is identified within dramatic space by verbal description.⁴ It thus might be characterised as neutral, even though it should be taken into

¹ I do not consider that *Prometheus* can safely be ascribed to Aiskhylos and thus have not included it in this account. For recent discussions about its authenticity, see generally, Griffith, Bain, 1985, 180, Bees, 1993, 15-132, Bees, 1995, 82 and Hammond, 1988, 14-16.

² See chapter 1, p.10.

³ See chapter 1, p.16.

⁴ See chapter 1, p.26. For the debate about words and visual representation in tragedy see Altena, 304-6.

consideration that the audience's knowledge of the myths may have created expectations, not always fulfilled, about the dramatic location of the play they were to attend. The *proagon* may also perhaps have included information about the dramatic location of the plays but any inference about its content is speculative.⁵ Before discussing the ways in which dramatic space was created, it may be helpful to define two of the terms, 'setting' and 'topography', which I use in the following discussion. Setting is the particular location in which the action of the play takes place, normally a palace (e.g. *S.El.*10), a temple (*Eum.*3-4, *IT.*34) or a tent (*Ai.*3-4, *Tro.*31-2)- represented by the *skene*-building- and the area in front of the edifice (*orkhestra*).⁶ Exceptionally the *skene*-building is identified with a grove (*OK.*16-20), a cave (*Phil.*16-9), or hut (*E.El.*251-2).⁷ Topography is a means of creating dramatic space in a wider perspective than setting.⁸ It is the interest in the delineation and description of a locality to which the setting belongs. Most plays are located in Greek regions but foreign lands are also represented in some plays.⁹

The setting is thus largely dependent on the *skene*-building and its identification with a particular dramatic location. Another element of the performance space which reinforces this identification is the low raised stage in front of the *skene*-building. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the existence of a low raised stage in the theatre of Dionysos in the fifth century is disputable.¹⁰ Some plays evidence its presence through its dramatic use, especially in scenes in which the character is represented as on a high area (*Phil.*1000-2) or tries to reach it by ascending (as old characters do in *Ion* 739

⁵ For the testimonies about the *proagon* see Csapo-Slater, 109-10.

⁶ Some representative examples of setting: palace (*Ag.*18, *Alk.*1), tent (*Hek.*53-4). For other definitions of setting see Murfin-Ray, 366, Abrams, 172. Kuntz never defines setting. I have argued for the existence of a *skene*-building for all extant tragedies, see chapter 2, pp.43-5 and chapter 4, pp.112-3.

⁷ For the *skene*-building representing a foreign tomb see chapter 4, pp.113-5. In *Hepta* and *A.Hik.* the *skene*-building was a representation of the Akropolis and the altar of the gods respectively.

⁸ For definitions of topography in geography see, for example, Small-Witherick, 245, Monkhouse, 353, Malpas, 40.

⁹ Some examples of the variety of Greek locations are Argos (e.g. *S.El.*4-9), Thebes (*OT.*1, 29), Delphi (*Eum.*11-6, *Ion* 5), Athens (*OK.*24, 54-61), Phthia (*Andr.*16-9). The foreign places are normally Troy and especially the Greek camp there (e.g. *Aias*) or a barbarian land (*Pers.*1, *Hel.*1-6, *IT.*30).

¹⁰ See chapter 2, pp.52-8. On the evidence of the texts see Arnott, 1962, 21-41, Hourmouziades, 58-74, Scully, 65-86. Against Wiles, 1997, 63-86.

and *E.El.*489-92).¹¹ In *OK.*155-202 the chorus, surprisingly, gives directions to the actors where to move (dramatically justified by the fact that they are local inhabitants, while Oidipous and Antigone are foreigners). The boundaries which Oidipous is not allowed to cross may offer further indication of the difference of levels between *orkhestra* and raised stage: the rocks imply elevation (192) and the edge of the rocks (*OK.*195-6) may have been represented by the edge of the raised stage with the steps leading to the *orkhestra*.¹² Thus the depth of the stage platform is exploited dramatically with Oidipous and Antigone at first near the door of the *skene*-building (covered to represent the grove) and then moving forward to the steps so that they are closer to the chorus.¹³ Lack of physical contact is another indication of spatial separation of the parts of the performance area, as when in *Orestes* (143, 185), the chorus in the *orkhestra* is excluded from approaching Orestes' bed which is most likely in front of the palace door, that is, 'on stage'.¹⁴

Portable elements were also possibly used as part of the furniture, for example, an altar (*Andr.*43, *Ion* 1254) and statues (for example, *A.Hik.*, *Hipp.*).¹⁵ If these were fixed for most of the play or throughout it they would play a significant role in customising the architectural space to the needs of the particular play. These objects would therefore form part of the transition from the neutral physical space to the dramatically specific setting, creating illusion out of the architectural space itself.¹⁶

Even though the norm in Greek tragedy is that the performance space represents one dramatic location throughout the play, changes of scene do infrequently occur as at *Eum.*235ff. and *Ai.*815ff. (with focus on the new space

¹¹ Against the use of *Ion* 739 as evidence, see Lee, on l.739. Against also, Craik, 1988, on *Phoin.*836. For an allusion to the direction of the *eisodoi* in such cases see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 57-8.

¹² The same in Edmunds, 1996, 51.

¹³ The few steps which led from the stage to the *orkhestra* unified the two areas allowing characters to move easily between them and were possibly used when actor and chorus are close to each other but the actor is near the door (*S.El.*121-250). The photographs from modern performances of ancient tragedy in Epidaurus to be found in the Archive of Performances at Oxford, are very illuminating concerning the use of the steps.

¹⁴ Cf. *OK.*1130-8.

¹⁵ The use of portable elements is disputable. For a discussion see Ashby, 1999, 25-46, Arnott, 1962, 43-71. Against altars on the stage see Wiles, 1997, 70-85.

¹⁶ Pittas-Herschbach, 18, argues that these visual details 'tend to suggest rather than define'. For the question whether scenery also facilitated this illusion see chapter 2, pp.62-3. Increased interest in details of the setting of plays performed in the end of the fifth century is apparent in *Or.*1569-70, 1620. For the representation of Apollo's temple in *Ion* see Lee, 178, and on l.76,

since 1.654).¹⁷ As will be argued in more detail in the case of *Persai*, the *skene*-building may have moved within the world of the play gradually, at first at moments of dramatic climax only and then from the beginning of a play.¹⁸ This gradual process and the fluidity in the identification explains why changes of scene could have occurred in plays with a *skene*-building, a problem which Taplin, one of the advocates of the late introduction of the *skene*-building into the performance space, had to face.¹⁹ In *Ai.* and *Eum.*, the *skene*-building is identified specifically from the beginning of the plays but the notion of one setting for the *skene*-building throughout the play is not exploited, even though the dramatists were familiar with it, as *Ag.* in particular indicates.²⁰ It is disputable whether these changes of scene were actually staged or remained verbal.²¹ It seems most likely that, in a genre which had its roots in the traditions of epic narrative, verbal descriptions were adequate markers of locational changes without actual performance of them.²²

In cases of 'intertheatrical space', the interest lies in the settings of plays which draw on the same myth and have the same theme (and even title).²³ *Kho.*, *S.El.* and *E.El.* belong to this category. *Kho.* and *S.El.* take place in front of the palace of the Atreidai with the tomb invisible in the latter, *E.El.* in front of a hut on the margins of Argos.²⁴

Concerning the ways in which visible dramatic space is created, most tragedies refer to the general topography and the particular setting together at the beginning of the play (e.g. *Ag.* 3, 18, 24; *Andr.* 16-46). On some occasions, however, especially in the early surviving plays topographical details are given

Pittas-Herschbach, 18. For the depiction of exceptional settings, see chapter 4, p.118 and chapter 6, pp.172-3.

¹⁷ See Lowe, 2000, 170. See also dissolution p.77 below.

¹⁸ See chapter 4, pp.112-3.

¹⁹ See Taplin, 1977, 105.

²⁰ For the date of *Aias* see chapter 2, p.60, n.193. A change of scene has been wrongly suggested in other plays, such as *Persai* and *Khoephori*. See chapter 4, p.118. For *Kho.* see 'dissolution of space' p.78 below. For the 'change' of location from Akropolis to Areopagos in *Eumenides* see, Sommerstein, 1989, on ll.235-98.

²¹ See Scullion, 67-8.

²² The familiarity with verbal descriptions in place of visual events is evidenced in scenes such as the earthquake in *Ba.* 576-603, or the fire into which Evadne leaps in *E.Hik.* 1065-71. See the discussions in Seaford, on ll.576-641 and Collard, 1975, 15-6 respectively.

²³ The term 'inter-theatricality' is used by Rehm, 1996, 49. See also chapter 6, p.169.

²⁴ See also App.I, pp.202-4.

at the beginning of the play (*A.Hik.*15, 32, 117) but the precise setting remains vague until it is specified later (*A.Hik.*189, 222).²⁵

Topography particularly includes the physical surroundings of the setting, namely the environment immediately adjacent to it and perceived by the audience as if visible (*Ai.*412-26, 862-4).²⁶ Surroundings thus belong to visible dramatic space as described components of the visible setting (deictics reinforce this notion: e.g. *Ai.*862), even though they also merge with the narrative space since they are invisible places.²⁷ A particularly detailed attention to such locations leads to the creation of verbal landscapes.²⁸ In *S.El.* the Paidagogos offers a map of the area with precise directions and deictics (*El.*1-10). These places are not visible to the audience but the amount of detail reinforces the belief that they surround the palace.²⁹

The past history and even the origins of a- normally religious- location form another way of introducing it. The location is perceived by the audience diachronically in an attempt to reinforce its sanctity or antiquity and thus its grandeur. In *Eum.*1-20, 685-90 the oracle and Areopagos respectively are depicted as such through the account of their history.³⁰

Two or more characters may sometimes depict the same location according to their personal view of it. Thus, visible dramatic space is created through different descriptions and responses to it. For example, the grove and rocks are referred to in *OK.* by Antigone (16-28), by the stranger (54-65), by Oidipous (96-101) and by the chorus (125-37, 156-201).³¹

In plays in which there is a special bond between the character and the visible dramatic space, especially when he is the resident of this location (*Phil.*, *Med.*, *E.El.*) the visible dramatic space may become a projection of the character's values and lifestyle.³² When the character's first entry is delayed (*Med.*214,

²⁵ Cf. *Hepta* 9 (Thebes), 240 (Akropolis). This late specification of setting in the Aiskhylean plays mentioned is justified by the focus on narrative spaces, see p.99 below.

²⁶ See also chapter 6, pp. 168, 190.

²⁷ I use the term 'place' as a synonym of space. For the definition of place in geography see Clark, 472, Small-Witherick, 185.

²⁸ For landscape in poetry see Fitter, 1-24.

²⁹ See also *Eum.*9-29. For the definition of landscape in geography see Clark, 335.

³⁰ For cult settings see Kuntz, 59-83.

³¹ See also p.196 in the conclusion.

³² In such cases the physical appearance of the character may reinforce this bond (*Phil.*225-6, *E.El.*107-10, 175-89) but note that Klytaimnestra's appearance in *Ag.* does not receive attention possibly because she is presented as a normal woman at the beginning.

*Phil.*219ff.), the space may function as an introduction to him before his appearance and create expectations about his distinctive qualities.³³

Dramatic space is not defined only in accordance with but also in contradiction to some visible characters. Characters who are not appropriate to that space contribute to its creation antithetically. For example, the Furies'- the goddesses of the Underworld and darkness- incompatibility with Apollo's temple (*Eum.*179-97) implicitly reinforces the perception of the temple as the space of light and the upper world (*Eum.*71-3).³⁴

As discussed in chapter 1, the performers' use of the areas of architectural space also generates dramatic space. Each performer's body occupies a certain part of the architectural space at each moment of the play. This is the 'personal space' of a character which he carries with him according to the location from where he enters and his association with it.³⁵ For example, Philoktetes brings the space of the uninhabited area of Lemnos into the visible dramatic space. This 'personal' space is not fixed at one point. It constantly changes as the character moves within visible dramatic space and beyond it into narrative spaces. In *Eum.* Orestes is constantly pursued by the Furies and remains fixed only when he is a suppliant (*Eum.*40-5, 241-3); his fixed position receives particular attention as an antithesis to his previous movement. After the court scene he is freed both from the curse of the matricide and from visible dramatic space and exits to Argos (764-75).³⁶ Generalised immobility of a character or lack of movement (even within the visible dramatic space) may indicate psychological inflexibility and stubbornness and, in turn, isolation (*S.El.*804-22).³⁷ By contrast, movement to another area of the visible dramatic space and exits from it in this case emphasise the transgression of the boundaries of the character and his entry into a new more flexible lifestyle or moral attitude (Kreon exits to meet his misfortune in *Antig.*1114ff).³⁸

Proxemic space, that is, the space generated by the interaction between performers' spaces, may be used to guide the audience to interpret the

³³ Agamemnon is expected to enter as the person of authority, even though Klytaimnestra actually rules the palace (the hints in the guard's speech are noticeable in ll.10-11, 36-9).

³⁴ See p.101 below.

³⁵ For the term in environmental psychology see Bell-Greene, 253.

³⁶ Hyllos in *Trakhiniai* also uses both *eisodoi* and the *skene*-building.

³⁷ See also, for example, *OK.*495-502 and chapter 6, p.170. Monologues reinforce this isolation, see also introverted space p.73.

³⁸ Cf. chapter 6, p.165.

relationships between the dramatic characters. Physical proximity normally implies friendliness and support between the characters and sometimes concludes with physical contact between them (Neoptolemos and Philoktetes exit together, the one holding the other, a visual confirmation of their alliance in *Phil.*1436-7). Recognition (*S.El.*1226-87) and illness scenes (*Or.*218-36, 791-806, *OK.*170-202) also involve proximity and contact.³⁹

The proxemic spaces created by the interaction between a group (the chorus) and individuals may also produce a variety of meanings. The *orkhestra* is occupied by the chorus. In the extant tragedies it seems to enter the *skene*-building only in *Hel.*385. The space which is created by the chorus depends on its dramatic identity in each play.⁴⁰ The chorus is usually friendly towards the main character, thus creating a line of unification between the group space and that of the individual (*S.El.*1058-97), even though it can change its attitude (*Med.*811ff., especially *Med.*1251-70).⁴¹ The chorus participates in the dramatic action between the actors through its *koryphaios* who unifies the *orkhestra* with the spaces of the actors who can be either on the stage or in the *orkhestra*.⁴² Irrespective of its particular role in each play, the participation of the chorus through its *koryphaios* in a scene opens the perspective of communal action and creates public space (*Phil.*1140-5).⁴³

Therefore, the play with the proxemics and the activation of the *orkhestra* and/or the stage is essential for signifying a change or turn in the plot. Thus, in *Antig.*988-1114 Kreon exits to the death-chamber of Antigone after Teiresias' prophecy, which motivates the chorus to active participation as an advisor.⁴⁴

Spatial proximity is not always an indication of unity between the characters but can also be used ironically. Despite their physical closeness, the dramatic space may be split to separate 'personal' areas. Performance and dramatic spaces

³⁹ See Kaimio, 12-25. A striking rejection of physical contact occurs in *Med.*1399-1414. For interpretations of this lack of contact see Segal, 1996, 158, Gredley, 1987, 39.

⁴⁰ It normally consists of native men (e.g. *Ag.*855) or women (*Med.*214), sailors (*Ai.*201-2), female slaves (*Kho.*77, *Phoin.*202-13), exiles (*A.Hik.*4-18).

⁴¹ But see chapter 6, pp.167-8. For the spatial dimension in changes of attitude of the chorus towards the resident of the *skene*-building see p.76 below.

⁴² The existence of a low raised stage does not preclude the use of the *orkhestra* by actors. For the raised stage see pp.67-8 above.

⁴³ See also Dale, 215-6 (219-20 for *Agamemnon*).

⁴⁴ Cf. *OK.*822-90. In *S.El.*1321-5 the chorus or Orestes and Elektra (according to the distribution of characters in this passage) shift the focus from the lamentation to the entry of a figure (the Paidagogos) from the interior which receives attention as the place of imminent action. For the attribution of the lines see Lloyd-Jones- Wilson, 1990, 71-2. See also Lloyd-Jones- Wilson, 1997, 43-4.

are in disjunction. The performers are close to each other but the audience knows from the prologue or previous scenes in which the main character was absent that there is deception or enmity between the characters (in *Kho.*668-719 Orestes is presented to Klytaimnestra as a stranger).⁴⁵ The use of monologues reinforces this disjunction. The visible space is controlled verbally by the deceiver, even though the territory in which he is may be space properly under the control of another character; the latter, however, having fewer lines or remaining silent, seems to be without any space. The confrontations in *Medeia* and especially that between Kreon and Medeia show the inability of the king to control the space which the socially and politically powerless Medeia occupies. The visible dramatic space is clearly characterised as Medeia's space despite belonging to the political authority of Corinth and Kreon (*Med.*271-356).⁴⁶ The boundaries between the characters remain fixed despite the temporary proximity or supplication (*Med.*324ff, *Hek.*275-345).⁴⁷

Another case of such disjunction between performance and dramatic spaces is the 'introverted' space. The character in this case does not address and communicate with anyone else but occupies his personal space without taking the presence of others into account- even if they are next to him in terms of physical distance. He addresses only the Gods (*Ai.*387-91, *Trakh.*983-7) or the physical surroundings (*Ai.*412-26, *Phil.*936-9) or remains silent (*OK.*1271-2, with physical movement away from Polyneikes).⁴⁸ In all cases he is indifferent to what the other characters (and the chorus as one of them) say (*Ai.*372-480).⁴⁹ Introverted space is sometimes combined with long monologues by the character which reinforce the notion of his separation from the others around him but also make him dominant in performance terms at moments when he is dramatically powerless (*Ai.*430-480).⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Deception: *Ai.*69-133, *Med.*324-47 (but revealed afterwards), see also chapter 6, pp.187-92. Physical violence or the threat of it may stress the separation (*OT.*1145-55, *OK.*820-86, *Andr.*501-43).

⁴⁶ *Ag.*944-74 offers a similar example: the political leader Agamemnon enters the palace as if in control of it which, however, is not the space of his authority anymore, but controlled by Klytaimnestra.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Ai.*1393-5. The use of the third person pronoun or negligence of another character who remains silent are techniques which also indicate a split (*OT.*1070-78).

⁴⁸ For physical movement and silence see *Med.*922-24, 1006-7 (possibly spurious, see Diggle, app.crit. on ll.1006-7), *Ion* 582-4.

⁴⁹ See also *OT.*1386-9 (wish for a physical isolation). See also chapter 6, pp.189-90.

⁵⁰ *Ag.*1215-40, 1256-94, *Antig.*891-928, *Med.*1021-80 (1056-80 deleted by Diggle, see app.crit. on ll.1056-80). See also chapter 6, p.189.

At the end of this spectrum lies the 'neutralisation' of a character. In this case the personal space which the actor occupies is not just separate from the other performers' space; it becomes effectively vacant. The neutralised character does not receive attention despite his presence in the performance area. For both the audience and the other characters he remains absent (*OK*.1097-1688).⁵¹

The techniques to neutralise a character are many and manipulated according to the dramatic needs of the play. Physical collapse is used in *Hek*.438-500, while veiling in *Hipp*.245-308.⁵² Another common type is the sleep (*Eum*.1-139), especially because of an illness, which requires silence from others (*Trakh*.974-92).⁵³ Silence is the most frequently used kind of neutralisation (*Pers*.249-290).⁵⁴

Sometimes, when the character who is neutralised is extremely important and especially when he is about to reoccupy his previous space in performance area, comments on him and his condition, usually by the chorus, lead the audience's attention back to him (*Hek*.486-7).⁵⁵ The technique of setting the focus on a part of the performance area which was previously neutralised is termed 'refocusing' in this thesis.⁵⁶ The character and the area he occupied acquire a new meaning after the neutralisation and, normally, refocusing is combined with a new configuration of space (in *A.Hik*.710-33 Danaos reoccupies his personal space after the choral ode shifting the attention on the activation of the narrative space of the harbour).⁵⁷ In other cases a character is neutralised from the beginning and, despite some references to him, his space remains dramatically vacant until the

⁵¹ The character remains neutralised even in cases in which there is reference to him: in *Kho*.508-584 Elektra is referred to in the third person in l.554 and in the second person in l.579 but takes no further active part in the play. In *Ai*.91-117 Odysseus is neutralised (invisible) for Aias but not for the audience.

⁵² For markers of physical collapse see *S.El*.677, *Hipp*.356-61. A similar case is the downward movement of the head (*Antig*.384-440) as indicated in l.441. For veiling see *Alk*.1007-1120, *Hek*.444-86. Veiling is also related to corpses. For the indications of such veiling see *Ai*.916-9, *E.El*.1227-32.

⁵³ Cf. *Or*.1-210. For a marker of such neutralisation see *Phil*.826.

⁵⁴ See the marker in *OK*.111-6. For the chorus instructing a character to stop talking see for example, *Ai*.483, 1040, *S.El*.212-20 (but Elektra cannot stop, cf. *Or*.1022, 1311). A different case is *Kho*.265: the chorus asks for silence but it is cancelled strikingly, since the contrary occurs with Orestes' long speech and the common lament, cf. *OK*.864 Kreon to Oidipous. For the silences in general see Taplin, 1972, 57-97. Silences might have been indicated by lack of movement by the actor (*Ai*.87, *Med*.81, 550).

⁵⁵ A marker of reoccupation is the address to the sun (*Phil*.867, *E.El*.866). Some characters intervene in the action abruptly (*Trakh*.335-8, 402) but others give the dramatic reason for their previous neutralisation (*Hipp*.433-4).

⁵⁶ The definition of this term in this thesis is different from its definition by Dale, 119, and Taplin, 1977, 104, who use the term for the shift of focus in changes of scene.

crucial moment at which he talks to predict an ominous event and thereby motivates spatial changes (Kassandra, in *Ag.*950-1 and 1035-71, remains silent despite the references to her until she cries and then reveals the future).⁵⁸ There is thus a climactic occupation of the character's personal space.

Neutralisation of the chorus is also common in Greek tragedy. I use two separate terms for the chorus' neutralisation because of the different status of the chorus from the actors. The chorus have a particular dramatic identity and thus become dramatic characters in the play as the actors but primarily they are singers who perform the odes. I use the term 'deactivation' when referring to the chorus' neutralisation without a motivation and the term 'marginalisation' when the neutralisation of the chorus is motivated by a character or themselves. In the case of deactivation the chorus as singers fall silent without any indication or reason for it. There seems to be no interest in them by the audience as if their role in the dramatic world is not important. Choral deactivation is arguably a precondition and a result of the emergence of the autonomous performer and of internal discourse between individual performers. The chorus frequently motivate discussion between the actors or reports by them (*Ai.*282-3) and set the attention on them only to fall silent after they start their conversation. In *Kho.*479-522 the chorus stop singing and the focus remains in the invocation of Elektra's and Orestes' father (cf. *Ion* 238-380).⁵⁹ This is particularly common towards the end of the plays as the dramatic climax is reached (*S.El.*1442-1508, *Ion* 1261-1509, 1512-1618).⁶⁰ In semantic terms, this inactivity of the chorus leads to the creation of private space, as in *OT.*697-833, where Iokaste and Oidipous have a conversation to the exclusion of the chorus on the grounds that Oidipous respects Iokaste more than them (*OT.*700).⁶¹

Concerning marginalisation, attempts to keep the chorus silent or its interventions brief are common (for example, *Hepta* 250-63, *Or.*136-86).⁶² 'Marginalisation' explains the particular role of the chorus as a character relegated

⁵⁷ See also *Eum.*752 (the deictic ὅδε draws attention to Orestes before his monologue concerning his new status in Argos), *OT.*1120, *Hek.*342ff..

⁵⁸ Cf. *Kho.*20, 561-2 until 899 (Pylades) but the contrary in *Or.*1591-2. Some characters remain mute throughout despite the focus on them (*Ai.*1171-81, 1409-11, *Trakh.*307-31, *S.El.*16, 1373).

⁵⁹ Cf. for example *OT.*1052-3, *A.Hik.*247-8, 602-4 (where the chorus motivates Pelasgos' and Danaos' speeches respectively).

⁶⁰ Cf. *Trakh.*1114-1275 or 1278 (see Lloyd-Jones- Wilson, app.crit. on ll.1275-8); *Med.*1314-1414 (Diggle deletes 1415-9, see app.crit. on ll.1415-9).

⁶¹ Also in *Ag.*810-974, *Ai.*527-82.

to the margins of dramatic space.⁶³ The silence of the chorus in this case receives attention, since they become a kind of audience of the dramatic action after their clear refusal to participate.⁶⁴

A particular case of marginalisation is the chorus' inactivity, especially at moments of crisis. An interesting spatial phenomenon which characterises the chorus is that conventionally they do not abandon the *orkhestra* until the end of the play.⁶⁵ This convention affects the creation of dramatic space, since the chorus do not move to the stage despite the actor's invitation to it. The chorus declines such invitations in tacit deference to the convention concerning performance space (*Hipp.*575-9).⁶⁶ On some occasions, especially when attention should be focussed on a significant event, often in the interior, the chorus remains inactive even in cases of dramatic crisis in which it might be expected to take action (*Med.*1271-79, *Ag.*1346-71, *Kho.*872-3).⁶⁷ In semantic terms this lack of action may be dynamic since it implies communal disapproval of actions by the main character which transgress human limits or social norms as in *Med.*1275-82 (cf. 1250-70 before the crime).⁶⁸ The chorus' inactivity is followed by changes in the spatial configuration, such as entries of a character from the space of the

⁶² *A.Hik.*190-203, *Antig.*280-1, but *Hek.*725 (self-motivation of the chorus to keep silent until 846). Cf. the same in *Or.*1367 but deleted by Diggle, see app.crit.on ll.1366-8.

⁶³ Based on the scarce evidence on the importance of choreography in Greek tragedy it seems legitimate to assume that the chorus expressed their feelings or reactions not only through words but especially through dancing. See Wiles, 1997, 87-113. Wiles includes in 'choreography' the actor's gestures, for example, *ibid.*154. Even though the *kinesics* of the performers cannot be reconstructed accurately, I use the term 'choreography' for the chorus' movements only, for example, *Eum.*230-256 with the chorus' awakening and re-entry as dogs who hunt Orestes. It is likely that during its neutralisation in any of the two forms the chorus occupied a marginal position in the *orkhestra*, remaining still so as not to distract the audience attention from the actors (in *Kho.*872 it is possible that ἀποσταθῶμεν implies a marginal position, but the chorus is not significantly neutralised immediately). For the chorus' movements towards the audience and forward in the whole *orkhestra* according to the dramatic participation see Ley-Ewans, 80. I do not go as far as to argue for a particular formation, as West, 1990b, 11-12, suggests (the Nesting Chorus).

⁶⁴ See *Or.*1311-14. For choruses sworn to silence and the dramatic use of this technique see Barrett, on ll.710-12.

⁶⁵ For the exception see p.72 above.

⁶⁶ In *Alk.*77-135 (for ll.132-5 see Diggle, app.crit. on ll.132-5) the chorus does not enter the *skene*-building to ask about Alkestis but waits until a servant comes out (136ff.). The exit to the *skene*-building is also cancelled by the arrival of a character, as in *OT.*1413-8 (Kreon), *Andr.*817-25 (Hermione), cf. *Hek.*1042-3 (Hekabe). For the reverse see *Ion* 219-32.

⁶⁷ See also *Hipp.*782-5, chapter 5, p.140. In *OK.*724-8 the chorus promises Oidipous to help and after his appeal there is a confrontation with Kreon culminating with the cry for help to which Theseus responds (822-86); cf. *Ag.*1650-3. *Ion* 758ff. is a striking exception because the chorus despite its doubts finally reveals the secret. For the chorus as a witness rather than participant see also Goward, 12.

⁶⁸ See *Hepta* 714-9 followed by a *stasimon*.

significant action who relates the events there (as Klytaimnestra does in *Ag.*1372-98) or a character who is unaware of this action (Iason in *Med.*).⁶⁹

The spatial configuration changes more strikingly in cases of dissolution of the dramatic space. The temporary dissolution of dramatic space within a play occurs at moments of strong break in the dramatic action. The end of a scene is normally marked by an exit of a character but in the case of dissolution all actors exit (possibly in different directions). In *Hek.*604-628 Hekabe sends both actors (Talthybios and the Nurse) away most likely through opposing *eisodoi* and then exits with Trojan women into the *skene*-building as a signal of the end of Polyxena's tragedy, since the following *stasimon* shows the beginning of Polydoros'. The stage is emptied and the dramatic space is temporarily dissolved, the focus of attention shifting for the time being to a new space, normally invisible (*Antig.*1108ff.).⁷⁰ Sometimes, especially in changes of scene, even the chorus leaves the *orkhestra* (*Eum.*234-44, where the exit-cue is given in *Eum.*226, 231 by Apollo and the chorus respectively).⁷¹

In changes of scene the dramatic space is dissolved permanently. In *Eumenides* the visible dramatic space turns from Delphi to Athens and never becomes Delphi again. The sequence of the exits from Delphi is accurately followed in the sequence of the re-entries to Athens as if the distance were realistically maintained during the invisible journey: first Orestes enters, then the pursuing chorus and then Apollo. Orestes reappears immediately after Apollo's final words (235). The audience is guided to Orestes' route through the invisible spaces vaguely, without any precise topographical details (*Eum.*75-84, 235-51) or any interest in the temporal interval between exit and re-entry (the purification of Orestes is presented as completed long ago (*Eum.*451), possibly because the change of scene requires clear focus on Athens as the place of the court and justice).⁷²

At the end of the plays the dissolution appears in different grades. Normally the dramatic space remains the same until the end of the play and, in cases of

⁶⁹ Cf. also *OK.*887ff..

⁷⁰ See also chapter 5, pp.149-50. Cf. *Kho.*584ff. For the use of a choral ode in such cases see p.89 below.

⁷¹ Cf. *Ai.*810-14 (two semi-choruses and Tekmessa); in *Hel.*385 and *Alk.*746 there is no change of scene. See Taplin, 1977, 375-6.

⁷² Note however that the exact visible dramatic space of Athens is rather vague; cf. *Ai.*815ff.

connected trilogies, may be unchanged at the beginning of the next play.⁷³ For example, *Ag.*1318-9, 1530-6, 1646-73 look ahead to *Kho.* without any reference to a change of location in the second play. In *Ag.*1673, in particular, the deictic τῶνδε δωμαίων stresses that the palace remains the background in the next play. This lack of a clear dissolution of space at the end of *Ag.*, combined with the mention of the palace in *Kho.*561-2, 579, and the adverb δεῦρο (*Kho.*583) all indicate that in *Kho.*653 the location does not change but the focus turns to a neutralised part of the performance space, that is the *skene*-building.⁷⁴

Sometimes, however, the end of one play involves a permanent dissolution of its spatial configuration. At the end of *Kho.* the new location of Delphi, the first dramatic space of *Eum.*, receives clear attention (*Kho.*1035-39, 1059-62).⁷⁵ Orestes exits taking with him, symbolically, the dramatic space of Argos- which requires a resolution of the crimes (*Kho.*1073-6). The focus on the exits of all characters at the end of the plays is clear in Euripides (e.g. *E.El.*1340-56, *Or.*1678-90).⁷⁶

In most plays with a different dramatic location than Athens (such as *OT.*, *Antig.*), when dramatic space is dissolved there is no refocusing to the performance space of Athens.⁷⁷ In some others, however, there is a redirection towards it at the end. The spectators' minds are turned away from the particular dramatic location to the knowledge they have from the city of Athens and contemporary cults (e.g. *Hipp.*1425-30, 1459).⁷⁸

At the end of plays in which Athens is the visible dramatic space there is geographical continuity between dramatic and performance spaces. The dissolved dramatic space merges into the performance space, thus creating a continuity with the life-experience of the Athenian audience. The end of the *Eumenides* in a theatre in Syracuse would have had a different significance from its performance

⁷³ Despite the lack of clear evidence Sommerstein, 1996, 69, argues that in Aiskhylos at least two of the plays of a trilogy are set in the same place. Cf. the tables in Sommerstein, 1996, 70. See also West, 1990, 26-33 for the Lykurgian trilogy.

⁷⁴ Taplin, 1977, 338-40, argues that the scene changes ('refocuses'). Ley-Ewans, 78-80 (especially n.16), argue for a change of scene in this play.

⁷⁵ A hint to the second visible dramatic space, namely Athens, may be indicated by ll.983-90.

⁷⁶ Diggle retains *E.El.*1357-9 but see his app.crit. on ll.1357-9.

⁷⁷ In *Ion* 1616ff. Kreousa, Ion and Athena are to exit to Athens, the place of his future kingdom. The audience's eyes are redirected to Athens but as a narrative space and thus without affecting the visible dramatic space. For Athens on the tragic space see Loraux, 1990, 168-206.

⁷⁸ See chapter 5, pp.160-3. Cf. *Med.*1378-85 (in a disturbing, subversive and uncomfortable way), *Or.*1683-90.

in Athens because the audience in the latter was very familiar with the actual procession which was represented in the theatre.

The analysis of the audience's experience in the perception of dramatic and performance space leads to discussion of the dramatic use of the transverse axis, that is, the axis marked by the *skene*-building, the *orkhestra* and the auditorium.⁷⁹

The shape of the auditorium and the fact that the performance took place in the open air indicate that visibility between the performance area and auditorium was reciprocal.⁸⁰ The audience watched the performers and was simultaneously visible to them during the play. This created a particular relationship between performers and spectators which differs from modern performances in closed theatre buildings. The visual association between auditorium and performance area has been extended by some scholars to a dramatic continuity between the two and a relationship between the dramatic characters and the audience. They thus claim that the auditorium formed an organic part of the dramatic space and that the spectators may become dramatic characters who are identified with the citizens or the groups addressed in some plays.⁸¹ Such a convergence between dramatic space and auditorium is plausible in cases where the plays evoke the political and religious experiences of the audience, such as *agon* scenes or processions (*Hipp.*, *Eum.*).⁸² However, the interrelationship between auditorium and performance area may be examined in two other dimensions, as well, namely as 'internal-' and as 'external audience space and time'. Internal audience space and time means that the audience has a wider perception of the events which take place in visible dramatic space and time and can interpret or correlate these events more broadly and in a different light than the characters. Its foreknowledge of the myth in general and the prologues (*Hipp.* 1-57) or previous scenes (for example, *Alk.* 65-9) or asides (*Med.* 625-6) normally provide the audience with information of which the main characters are either wholly or partly unaware; for example, in *Ag.* 772-81, the contrast between justice and wealth gives an ominous tone to Agamemnon's majestic entry announcement which follows immediately (782-

⁷⁹ For the deepening of this axis through the activation of the interior see p.90 below.

⁸⁰ The relationship between spaces and behaviour of people especially in association to theatre forms has been researched by environmental psychologists, see for example Mehrabian, 222.

⁸¹ For example, *Hepta* 1, *Eum.* 1014ff., *OT.* 223, 1524. See Wiles, 1997, 207-21 and 2000, 124-5, Rehm, 1988, 288. Against this see Bain, 1975, 13-22, and, generally, Chandriotis. The technique of addressing the audience is common in comedy. See also chapter 1, p.11, n.29.

809).⁸³ Yet this information does not reveal events which would destroy the creation of suspense (in *Eum.* 74-84 Apollo foretells the end of Orestes in detail but reveals nothing about the end with the Erinyes).⁸⁴ The communication established between spectators and characters is an indirect one, since the characters do not take account of the spectators and the latter cannot directly respond to them.⁸⁵

The openness of the auditorium is to be understood in terms not only of its physical dimensions (wider/larger than the performance area) but also metaphorically, since audience-space and time expands beyond the boundaries of the dramatic space and time through what may be termed 'external audience space and time'. By this I mean the correlation of the dramatic action with events from real life and the opening of dramatic space and time to the real space and time of the audience.⁸⁶ Fifth-century comedy, of course, used this technique frequently, unlike tragedy which focused on the inherently closed world of the mythic past. There is thus a temporal distance between the dramatic time and the 'audience's present. The only extant exception is the first surviving tragic play, the *Persai*, which focuses on significant events from the recent past which makes the audience not merely spectators of past events but also participants because of their own experience of the events; arguably, however, Aiskhylos avoids identificatory participation by excluding Greeks from the dramatic space.⁸⁷ In other plays whose *mythos* is taken from the cycles of the distant past, there may also be some implicit references to contemporary space and time and especially to

⁸² Carey, 2000, 7, remarks that 'the political structures, concerns and experiences of fifth-century Athens find their way into the plays'. Wilson-Taplin, 175-7, argue that the incorporation of the Erinyes in *Eum.* can be seen to represent the incorporation of tragedy within the city of Athens.

⁸³ See also Dale, 217-9. Other examples: *S.El.* 650-59, *Ag.* 974. On the spectators' foreknowledge of the myth and the play with it see Van Erp, 21-41. On the asides, see Bain, 1977, 13-86. Lowe, 2000, 167, discusses the gods' prologues and their relation to the audience. For the chorus offering 'explanatory background, as in the *parodoi* of *Persians*, *Supplikes*, *Agamemnon*', see Goward, 22. Aias gives information about the following dramatic action which the other characters do not know (*Ai.* 825-51).

⁸⁴ See also, for example, *OT.* 1183 (the audience might have expected Oidipous' death), *Ion* 71-3 (the truth is revealed in Delphi and not Athens).

⁸⁵ In this way Greek tragedy seems to resemble in a way the so-called 'fourth wall' in later drama. See also Lowe, 2000, 164, Taplin, 1986, 166-7.

⁸⁶ Goward, 3, uses the term 'authorial audience' for the audience 'capable of responding e.g. to metatheatrical or contemporary allusion'.

⁸⁷ See chapter 4, p.126. In *Eum.* 566-753, 1002-1048 the participation is of a different kind, because there is temporal distance but spatial vicinity to Athenian everyday life-experience. What is future for the play is past and timeless present for the audience (853-69).

political or religious views (E.El.383-90, *Hek.*864-69).⁸⁸ What, however, links all the above examples is their implicitness, their lack of direct convergence with the world of the spectators- or, more accurately, worlds, as the audience is a gathering of individuals.

After the discussion of the transverse axis, I turn to the vertical and horizontal axes and their dramatic activation. Their examination has been reserved for the end of this section because they lead to or also include invisible spaces in performance and dramatic terms and thus reach towards narrative space, even though the axes themselves are formed by performance space. As mentioned in the first chapter, the vertical axis comprises the roof of the *skene*, the *skene*-building and *orkhestra* and the invisible space of the Underworld. The Underworld is recalled in many plays.⁸⁹ It sometimes, however, plays such an active role that it is evoked directly as a part of the dramatic space immediately contiguous with the visible performance space (*Pers.*628-80, *Kho.*124-509).⁹⁰ The movement towards it is also sometimes very vividly presented.⁹¹

The roof is normally reserved for the entrances and appearances of the gods and is handled according to the dramatist's needs.⁹² The visibility (E.El.1236-7) or not of the gods to the characters in visible dramatic space is essential in the creation of the opposition between human and divine and in the degree to which the world of the gods is perceived as separate and distinct from the world of the mortals (*Hipp.*1391, *Ai.*14-17).⁹³

⁸⁸ Philosophical disputes about nature or education might be reflected in *Hek.*592-602 (but possibly spurious, see Diggle, app.crit. on ll.599-602), wealth and nature in E.El.37-8. Cf. E.El.737-44 for the criticism of myths. *Ai.*1350, *Ion* 621-32, 670-5, *Or.*696-701 might also imply political references. For the anachronistic use of τῶραννος see Carey, 1986, 176. For anachronisms see Easterling, 1985, 1-10. Against anachronisms in tragedy see Taplin, 1986, 171-2. Griffin, 57, argues that the link between tragedy and history is not to be found in the 'subfusc area of political institutions, but in dramatic confrontations, great temptations and terrible crimes'.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Ai.*865. In *Ai.*1026-7, S.El.1417-21, *Trakh.*1161-3 the revenge of the dead brings death.

⁹⁰ See chapter 4, pp.111-2. See also *Or.*385-6 (Orestes as visible 'dead'), cf. *Or.*1018-9.

⁹¹ For example, *Ag.*1313-4 for Cassandra, *Alk.*73. The Furies also want to bring Orestes there alive, *Eum.*174-5, 264-75, but this is not fulfilled.

⁹² For the stage space reserved to Gods see Lowe, 2000, 171. For the use of the crane in such scenes see Mastronarde, 1990, 247-94.

⁹³ See chapter 5, p.158; but compare *Phil.*1411-12. For the *theologeion* see Pittas-Herschbach, 22, Rehm, 1992, 34. After the infanticide, a crime unacceptable for human standards, Medea appears with divine features as the granddaughter of Sun (her ability to foretell Iason's end is noticeable, *Med.*1386-8). Despite her visibility the lack of contact with the human Iason and the refusal to give him his children back separates the two levels (roof-*orkhestra*, where Iason most likely is).

The roof is also used for the appearance of ghosts (*Pers.* 681) or even humans, as *Ag.* 3 shows.⁹⁴ While at the beginning of the plays the differentiation of points in the axis is not clear, at the end of the plays, since the ground level has been identified as the place of the mortal characters (Dionysos in *Bakkhai* moves on ground level in mortal disguise), the roof becomes the place appropriate only for gods. In *Or.* 1567ff. the roof is used by Orestes, Hermione, Pylades, namely human beings with murderous plans, possibly in a subversion of this normal use.⁹⁵

The vertical axis (Gods, human beings, Underworld) is sometimes unified for the purpose of the play as in the revenge-plan in *Kho.* 299, for which the gods, the father and the problems of political authority press Orestes to take revenge, (cf. 833-7).⁹⁶ Tension, however, is also evident among the components of the axis, as when, in *Antig.* 1069-76, the gods and the underworld are against Kreon's authority and cruelty represented by the *skene*-building as the palace.

On the horizontal axis, the two *eisodoi* lead to places adjacent to the visible dramatic space or distant from it, according to the needs of the play. The traditional opinion that one *eisodos* leads to the city or the harbour (a social space) while the other to abroad is restrictive and inaccurate.⁹⁷ The plays offer a much wider variety of locations to which the *eisodoi* lead.⁹⁸ Exceptionally, it is possible that depending on the main themes of the play only one *eisodos* is actively used (*Philoktetes*). Sometimes the *eisodoi* are used by separate characters (in *Agamemnon* the herald and Agamemnon use one, Aigisthos and the chorus the

⁹⁴ See chapter 4, pp. 120-3. In *Eum.* 95-102, Klytaimnestra appears excluded from the underworld and neglected. For Klytaimnestra's appearance as a ghost in *Eum.* see Taplin, 1977, 365-7. For the staging of Polydoros' appearance and its model, see Collard, 1991, on *Hek.* 1-58, Calder, 44-5, 54-5. I believe that the crane was possibly used, as αἰωπούμενος (*Hek.* 32) indicates, and because he is an unburied ghost without a body (*Hek.* 31, his body lies in the shore where it will be found later).

⁹⁵ If Evadne uses the roof in *E.Hik.*, this use might have been associated to the creation of a spectacular scene.

⁹⁶ Also in *E.El.* 671-84, cf. *Hek.* 790-2.

⁹⁷ For the traditional view about the *eisodoi* in Pollux see the discussion in Rees, 380-396, and his arguments against it, cf. Lowe, 2000, 172, Joerden, 1971, 409-10 (Exkurs II), Hourmouziades, 129-36. For a correlation between entrances and exits to real topography of the open theatre see Pittas-Herschbach, 13-4.

⁹⁸ For example, tomb (e.g. *S.El.* 51, 899-900, *Alk.* 740-6, 1142) and outskirts of the city (*S.El.* 1431-2), death-chamber (*Antig.* 773-6), tents/camp (*Hek.* 98-101), meadow (*Hipp.* 73-81), shore (*Hek.* 610, a marginal place). In *Or.* 1246-1320 the actual orientation of the *eisodoi* may have been used dramatically as the chorus moves towards them to look out for enemies coming (1258-60 east and west, recalling *Ai.* 874-8 but in *Orestes* the chorus remains in the *orkhestra*). See Bonnafé, 77. In both plays the search does not have any results despite the temporary suspense created in *Or.* 1269-70. In *Eum.* and *Aias* because of the change of scene, it is most

other *eisodos*), but in other plays one character uses both as in *A.Hik.* in which Danaos moves from the inimical *eisodos* of his first entry to the friendly *eisodos* of Pelasgos' city, a symbol of his integration in the *polis* and his change of status.⁹⁹

This example of the way meaning is created from the use of the *eisodoi* leads to the general discussion of the semantics of performance and dramatic space. As discussed in chapter 1, dramatic space, apart from giving identity to the performance space according to the specifics of the play, may also give an additional symbolic meaning to it.¹⁰⁰ Irrespective of their specific identification in each play the elements of the performance space and, especially, the *skene*-building may symbolise a death-place (for example, *Ag.*1291) or psychological death and suffering (*Med.*24, 141, 225-7).¹⁰¹ It may also denote authority or even tyranny (e.g. *S.El.*521-2, *Andr.*432-4), shelter from danger and threat of death (*Hepta* 240-1, 258) or exclusiveness (*Ai.*4, *Philoktetes*).¹⁰²

The area around the *skene*-building and especially the altar (whether portable or the *thymele*) is in some plays dramatically used by suppliants as the opposing area to the hostile palace or temple. In *Andromakhe* the altar of Thetis is opposed to the palace (21-44) and Andromakhe does not want to leave it in an attempt to save her life (254).¹⁰³ This opposition signifies justice against injustice and negligence of the gods (*Andr.*168-80, 245-60) but may also symbolise Greek values versus barbarian ones (*Andr.*136-8).¹⁰⁴

The physical surroundings and the axes may be given emblematic meaning. In some plays the physical surroundings function as symbols of the main character's utter suffering or isolation (*Ai.*412-26, *Antig.*844-5, *Phil.*936-40).¹⁰⁵ The symbolic meaning of the axes varies according to the thematic concerns of each play. Apart from the distinction between mortal and immortal worlds

likely that the locations to which the *eisodoi* lead are reoriented (for example in *Ai.*984-8 the tent is in the invisible space to which the one *eisodos* leads).

⁹⁹ Cf. *Kho.* Aigisthos and the Nurse vs. Orestes and Pylades. See also chapter 4, p.106.

¹⁰⁰ See chapter 1, pp.17-8.

¹⁰¹ For the *skene*-building as symbol of death see also *Kho.*926, *S.El.*1495-8, *Alk.*415, *E.El.*660-2. As symbol of psychological death see *Hipp.*129-40, *Andr.*804-25 (but 1.810 is problematic according to Diggle, app.crit. on 1.810).

¹⁰² See chapter 6, p.169. In *E.El.*690-2 the house functions as a symbol of Elektra's feelings. The dramatic action can change this meaning (the destroyed house in *Kho.*50 stands up/rises again (961-71) after the murders and symbolises freedom).

¹⁰³ The same opposition is depicted in *Ion* 1254-319 in the confrontation between Kreousa at the altar and Ion who is associated with the temple.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *Andr.*169-80, 649-54.

¹⁰⁵ See chapter 6, p.190.

(*Hipp.*), the vertical axis may, for example, also signify past (*Persai*, *Philoktetes*) or present (in *Agamemnon* it is represented by the figures of the Guard, Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos, ending to death- Underworld).

The semantic contrast between the vertical and horizontal axes is noteworthy. The vertical axis may denote the past of a character while the *eisodoi* the present according to his entry from the *skene*-building or an *eisodos*. For example, Kreon's pitiful entry through the *eisodos* in *Antig.*1261ff. is contrasted with his previous entries from the *skene*-building as a powerful tyrant.¹⁰⁶ The distinction between barbarian and Greek may also be reinforced by the activation of these two axes: in *Med.*255-6, 536-540 Medeia represents the *skene*-building against Iason- Kreon who enter through the *eisodos* leading to the palace.

The semantics of the *eisodoi* also depend on the specifics of each play. In *Ag.*1610-52 they indicate the past versus present values or lifestyle while in *Il.*1625-71 they also show the opposition between male and female in the depiction of Aigisthos as a woman (cf. *S.El.*300-6).¹⁰⁷ The use of the *eisodoi* in *A.Hik.*911-65 signifies the contrast between nationalities and their value-systems and the opposition between wilderness and civilisation.¹⁰⁸ Democracy and tyranny are also opposed through the *eisodoi* (*A.Hik.*425, 948),¹⁰⁹ as are exile and home/shelter. In *Medeia* the characters who want to send her to exile would have entered through one *eisodos* while Aigeus who offers her shelter from the other (*Med.*634-41).¹¹⁰

The point where the axes meet is the tension point between the issues which they problematise (for example, the palace in *Agamemnon* and *Khoephoroi* as the meeting point of opposing powers of paternal and maternal rights). This distinction is more insistently exploited in later fifth-century tragedy, such as *OK.*, even though the *skene*-building does not represent a building but a grove which functions as the conjoining point between the preparation for Oidipous' deification through his death (vertical axis) and the demands of his human claimants (horizontal axis). The semantics of the transverse axis and especially

¹⁰⁶ For the use of this contrast in *Persai*, see chapter 4, p.123.

¹⁰⁷ For the past versus present see also *Pers.*703-917. For the male versus female see also *Trakh.*1071-5 for Herakles. In *A.Hik.*644-5 males support the females against males.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Antig.*773-6, 1197 (in contrast to the city *Antig.*733), *OT.*1449-54. See also chapter 5, pp.140-1.

¹⁰⁹ See also *Ag.*1633-73.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *OK.*636-9. In *Or.*46-56 Argos is opposed to the harbour- the source of hope for safety but both hostile after the civic decision.

the interrelationships of interior and exterior space are discussed under the interior space.¹¹¹

2. Reported space

Reported space is the other main category of tragic space. Even though I refer to this category separately for the sake of clarity, it also interacts with the other two (performance and dramatic) and examination of these interactions will follow the analysis of reported space itself. In the first chapter reported space was divided into the narrative space (of the world of the play) and the lyric space (the spaces recalled mainly by the chorus).¹¹²

Narrative space is normally recalled by the characters of the play and especially the messengers.¹¹³ Unlike performance/ dramatic space, narrative space is not spatially restricted because it is reported verbally and thus can include various locations, both close to and distant from the visible dramatic space.¹¹⁴ It is thus more flexible than dramatic space.

The narrative space closest to visible dramatic space is the interior of the *skene*-building. The physical details of interior space normally remain vague; how it is constructed, which parts comprise it, its contents and topography are not explained (*Kho*.572, 878).¹¹⁵ Detailed accounts of the interior are given when it has to become explicit to the audience because it has an important dramatic role, for example, as an introduction to the character or an event (*S.El*.1400-1) or by offering a different perception of the character to appear (*Phil*.31-9, *OT*.1241-96 possibly because of the entrance of a blind hero).¹¹⁶ The bond between interior and resident hero is reinforced by his entry from there (*Ag*.258-60, *S.El*.77ff., *Med*.214ff.).

The interior also acquires dramatic importance when it functions as the place of tension, although this importance does not always produce detailed description.

¹¹¹ See pp.96-7 below.

¹¹² See chapter 1, pp.20-1.

¹¹³ On message narrative see Goward, 15, Lowe, 2000, 167.

¹¹⁴ Lowe, 2000, 172-3, remarks that Aiskhylos uses off stage epic, with colossal battles and casts of thousands in narrative space (an exploitation of offstage mobs occurs also in Euripides), and mentions that 'offstage locations can still be carefully plotted and evoked, through a combination of announced and reported action, character movement, and timing'. Goward, 70, argues for panoramic message scenes in Aiskhylos.

¹¹⁵ Some examples: *Ai*.108, 239-40, *S.El*.267-81, *Antig*.1186-92, *Ion* 222-25.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *Ai*.11-2 cancelled by Athena. Note that in both *Aias* and *Philoktetes* there is gradual approach towards the *skene*-building and wonder whether the character is inside or not (Athena reveals it in *Ai*.9). Cf. *Alk*.157-96 as an introduction to Alkestis' appearance.

The *oikos* which the *skene*-building normally represents appears to be split into different domains. Thus in *Kho*.36-7, 712-3 and *Trakh*.900-30 the female compartments are presented as separate from male quarters within the palace.¹¹⁷

The destinations to where the *eisodoi* lead may be near or distant, single or multiple narrative locations according to the dramatic needs. The spaces to which one *eisodos* leads are normally opposed to the ones approached through the other *eisodos*. In *Ai*.974-1375 the conflict between Teukros and Agamemnon becomes a visualisation of the conflict between the supporter of Aias and the Greek camp from which Agamemnon came.¹¹⁸ Sometimes, however, one *eisodos* may lead to contradictory narrative spaces beyond an adjacent one as in *Philoktetes* in which the harbour leads to Troy or Greece.¹¹⁹

Concerning the creation of narrative spaces, the narrated topography may be presented vaguely or in detail according to the effect which the dramatist wants to create. Narrative spaces are normally reported in detail because the audience is to imagine them (*Antig*.407-36 with time details in 415-7, 1196-243).¹²⁰ Scenes which, whether because of convention or technical difficulty, could not normally be performed in visible dramatic space, such as those involving death (*Med*.1136-1221) or violence (*E.Hik*.650-730) or miraculous events (*OK*.1586-1665) are also reserved for invisible spaces.¹²¹ It is noticeable that in these cases the amount of detail given about the narrative locations both creates a realistic frame for the 'unbelievable' events which happen there and makes the audience believe in the reality of what is taking place in an area which they cannot access by sight. The

¹¹⁷ Other examples: *Alk*.1050-61 (no place inside for a young woman), *Med*.89-91, 100-5 (the children are taken separately from the female domain where Medea is), cf. *Med*.36, *Or*.1127, 1445-52, 1473-99 (different parts of the *oikos* for the imprisonment of the slaves and Helene's murder). Ley-Ewans, 84, n.18, discuss the entries or exits which are made heading in different directions inside the *skene* in *Kho*.885-891 (also suggested for the Delphic section of the *Eumenides*).

¹¹⁸ See also *OK*.911-31, Kreon representing Thebes in contrast to Athens and its values. In *Or*.717-31 the city of Argos is opposed to the harbour but both end up being hostile to Orestes, despite Pylades'- his only friend's- entry from the city. See also the discussion on the horizontal axis in p.84 above.

¹¹⁹ See chapter 6, pp.164-6.

¹²⁰ Also *OK*.1291-1335, *Or*.866-92 with direct speeches included for vividness. The emotional response of the audience to the invisible events is also essential. The self-expressive narrative space in *OT*. is significant in the way in which the play evolves. Oidipous functions as his own biographical Messenger, cf. *Med*.476-495.

¹²¹ For *Med*.1221 see Diggle, app.crit. *ad loc.* Deaths: *Andr*.1085-1160, *E.El*.774-855; scenes horrible to be seen: e.g. *Med*.1167, 1202. In *Ai*.915, 1004, *OT*.1297-1306, *Eum*.34 the scene becomes visible; miraculous scenes: *Hipp*.1201-48. About events in invisible space see the detailed tables in Joerden, 1960, 73-5. See also Walton, 1980, 135-8, for the factors for restriction of violence on stage; Arnott, 1962, Appendix III, discusses the problems in staging death-scenes on stage. For *Ai*.815-924 see Joerden, 1971, 404, n.35, Garvie, 1998, on ll.815-65.

credibility of the events is sometimes reinforced by the use of topographical details corresponding to real geographical locations familiar to a fifth-century audience (for example, *OK*.1590-1603).¹²² The authority of the Messenger lends sanction to this realistic frame: the Messenger was conventionally believed to report the truth of events to which he is frequently an eye-witness.¹²³ The messengers or characters who act like messengers normally report events which have already happened but, in some cases and, especially, in Euripidean introductory prologues and endings combine past and future offering a sketch of the events which will happen during the play and beyond it (for example, *Hek*.1-50, *Ion* 1-75, *Andr*.1231-72, *Or*.1625-65).¹²⁴

The case of the false or deceptive messenger is different. The events which he narrates do not really exist. His role is not only to report but trigger an emotional response to this new piece of information by the characters in visible dramatic space (*Kho*.674-90, *S.El*.680-763).¹²⁵ The events which are supposed to have taken place in this deceptive space are perceived as true because of the Messenger's authority, an authority inherent in his role which is, however, subverted here.¹²⁶ The audience is aware of the deception because the appearance of a false messenger is clearly discussed in earlier parts of the play in visible dramatic space (*Kho*.560-70, *S.El*.44-58).¹²⁷

Narrative spaces may be linked to particular characters in some plays (the Underworld with the Erinyes in *Eumenides*, the meadow with Hippolytos in *Hippolytos*).¹²⁸ The focus on these spaces is reinforced by different descriptions

¹²² Also *Hepta* 375-652, *OT*.733-7, *S.El*.680-760.

¹²³ For example, *Pers*.266, *Hepta* 41, 375, *Hek*.524. See also De Jong, 183-4. However, this is not always the case e.g. *OT*.1238-54 (no eye-witness for Iokaste's death), cf. *OK*.1656-7.

¹²⁴ Polydoros' long report contrasts the servant's ignorance (*Hek*.698-701) and Polymestor's brief reference to his murder (*Hek*.1136) and counterbalances the lack of a messenger of his death, since it took place before the dramatic time of the play.

¹²⁵ See also *Phil*.542-627. This technique of creating response in visible dramatic space even through a deceptive narrative space is favoured by Sophokles (for example, *Trakh*.248-334).

¹²⁶ The trust in messengers is indicated in *Kho*.851-3 in which Aigisthos wants to talk with the Messengers. A false messenger who goes from visible to invisible space is the Nurse in *Kho*.769-82.

¹²⁷ Even though Medeia is not a Messenger of past events she also draws attention to her deceptive reaction to Iason and the gifts she will send (*Med*.774-90). False Messengers may give topographical details to convince the deceived character that they are real (*S.El*.680-763) but in *Kho*.674-90 Orestes refers only to the question of the space of the burial and to Strophios without more details about Orestes' 'death'.

¹²⁸ See chapter 5, p.141. The bond with narrative space is reinforced by the appearance of the characters who are symbols of these spaces (*Eum*.55-6). In *Eumenides* the change of location of the character means a change of lifestyle as well. Thus Orestes moves from Argos to Delphi and Athens (which brings the end of his exile), Erinyes from the Underworld to both Delphi and then

of them by different characters (Kithairon is described in *OT*.1134-41, 1391-4, 1451-4).¹²⁹

I conclude this account with an analysis of lyric space. This consists of space discontinuous with the spaces of the world of the play.¹³⁰ The creation of this space is normally reserved for the chorus but, exceptionally, the actors may also refer to some examples from Greek mythic cycles (*Antig*.944-87, *Kho*.601-21).¹³¹ By the creation of these alternative spaces, the songs of the chorus temporarily distance the spectators, emotionally and spatially, from their close involvement with the dramatic action.

Distancing from the visible dramatic space and its action is achieved through a variety of means.¹³² Some of them appear as common patterns in lyric odes. Thus, the image of the flight combined with the notion of escape beyond human boundaries often forebodes a suicide reinforced by the destination of the flight, normally a place which symbolises death (*Ai*.1192-3, *A.Hik*.779-99).¹³³ The journey (and particularly a voyage) and the sea as a means of transition also signal a passage from one condition to another and mark the contrast between past happiness and the misery to come (*Med*.209-12, 431-3, 1263-4).¹³⁴ The continuation of a past crime or curse affecting the character at present is another common pattern (*S.El*.505-15, *Andr*.274-308).¹³⁵

The creation of an alternative space in choral songs through distancing from the dramatic action endows the tragic events with a wider scope. The mythical examples and their particular space and time imply the analogue between them

Athens (and become goddesses). The two main spaces here have the peculiarity that they turn into visible dramatic spaces.

¹²⁹ Other examples: the meadow in *Hipp*.17-8, 75-8, 208-35, cf. *Ion* 10-13, 283-88, 887-904, 1482-95.

¹³⁰ See also Lowe, 2000, 168-9.

¹³¹ Actors may participate with the chorus or recall lyric spaces themselves, see *S.El*.146-52, 837-9 (chorus in lyric exchange with Elektra); actors: *Ag*.1232-6, *Antig*.823-33, *Alk*.357-62, *Hek*.886-7.

¹³² Goward, 23, says that Sophokles and Euripides 'quite often use the different temporal tendencies of lyric to allude to other narratives'.

¹³³ See also *Hepta* 854-60, *Hipp*.732-51, *Ion* 1238-43, *A.Hik*.792-9. For escape cf. *Trakh*.953-8, *Ai*.403-4, 1211-22. In *Or*.1375-9 the Phrygian servant expresses this wish while ll.982-95 have been attributed to Elektra by Diggle, see his app.crit. on l.982. For the wish for wings in tragedy see also Barrett, on ll.732-4. A reversal of this route by the chorus occurs in *Alk*.455-63, since they wish that they could take Alkestis from the Underworld. Contrast the joyful 'flight' in *Ai*.693. For characters who express the wish to escape see *Hek*.1100-6, *Andr*.847-50, cf. *Ion* 796-99.

¹³⁴ Medeia's ominous voyage to Corinth is first mentioned by the Nurse (*Med*.1-13). For other examples see *Ai*.1211-22 (voyage of return), *Hel*.1451-511 (from present misery to future happiness).

¹³⁵ *Hepta* 739-91, *Antig*.594-603.

and the characters (*Kho.*601-23) associating dramatic and lyric spaces in a play.¹³⁶ The character's suffering (*A.Hik.*58-67), or crime (*Kho.*601-21, *Med.*1281-91) is viewed beyond spatial and temporal boundaries. This distance in time is sometimes replaced by a timelessness which reinforces the generality of perspective in the odes (*Antig.*332-76, *OK.*668-719).¹³⁷ This expansion of the scope through one or more mythic spaces concludes normally with a narrowing of the focus back to the specific spaces and time of the play which I discuss further in the spatial interactions below.¹³⁸

The distancing which the chorus offers, as distinct from brief references within the *epeisodia* by characters referring to alternative spaces momentarily and without any of the effects just discussed, plays an important role in the construction and articulation of the play. The choral ode functions as the bridge which takes the audience from one part of the tragedy to another without any strong break or disruption (*Kho.*584-651). This is clear in the cases of bipartite tragedies, that is, tragedies which have two central characters, where the focus shifts from the ill fate of one to the fate of the other in the middle of the play, as in *Hipp.*790ff. or *Trakh.*971ff.¹³⁹ In *Trakh.*971ff. through the choral ode (947-70) the space of Deianeira's suicide in the interior becomes an alternative kind of space which then moves to Herakles' expected appearance. In *Antig.*944-87 during the ode the space of the event loses its specificity. It becomes generalised (cf. *Andr.*766-801). The effect is to allow the shift in focus to the oncoming character (for example, Herakles in *Trakh.*) after the *stasimon* to take place without intrusive abruptness while, at the same time, preserving a strong sense of closure.¹⁴⁰

Lyric space may also contribute to the anticipation of events to come, especially of death scenes (*Hepta* 722 κακόμαντιν).¹⁴¹ It also offers a wider

¹³⁶ I believe that the audience could relate the names of the mythological characters with their particular spatial and social context. As Goward, 4, rightly argues 'we lack their [fifth-century audience's] life-long exposure to the tellings and re-tellings of familiar stories'. She adds, 22-3, that the choral odes in Sophokles and Euripides are more 'achronic' while Aiskhylos does not use examples from 'external myth' apart from *Kho.*585ff..

¹³⁷ Goward, 24, discusses the elasticity of time in choral odes. In p.23 she argues that one of the effects of using different temporal tendencies of lyric to allude to other narratives is 'to open up a gap between the 'now' of the stage figures and the 'timeless' voice of traditional community wisdom with its repository of tales'.

¹³⁸ See p.102 below.

¹³⁹ Cf. *Antig.*988ff., *Andr.*802ff., *Hek.*656ff.

¹⁴⁰ See also chapter 5, pp.138-9.

¹⁴¹ See for example, *Ag.*988-1000, *Ai.*229-32 but *Ai.*693-78, *OT.*1086-1109 (wrong prediction), *OK.*1075-80 (for good news), cf. *Med.*976-1001. Goward, 13, remarks that the chorus attempt to

geographical perception, offering a sketch of the situation in spaces beyond the visible dramatic space, normally the city at large or even the nation (*Pers.* 584-97).¹⁴²

The common factor in all such accounts by the chorus is the allusive way in which they refer to events. This mode gives them the chance to outline events which take place in invisible narrative space without offering details (*OK.* 1044-95). The audience, however, who know the conventions of Greek theatre, interpret these allusions as action which is taking place simultaneously with the odes. In *Hepta* 720-91 the chorus offers a lyric view of the murder of Eteokles and Polyneikes in the course of the past curse which makes their fate inescapable. The use of present tenses as in *Trakh.* 633-62 reinforces the expectation of Herakles' imminent entry which is cancelled by Deianeira's sudden one.¹⁴³

3. Spatial interactions

Until now the focus has been principally on the individual kinds of tragic space and their semantics. Spatial categories, however, are not rigid, as is illustrated by the previous discussion of the close interrelationship between performance and dramatic spaces. The same approach is followed and further developed in this section, which offers a general account of interactions between the kinds of space and the semantics thus produced.

Visible dramatic space extends to the invisible spaces through the door of the *skene*-building, which normally leads to the imagined interior of the building, and through the two *eisodoi*.¹⁴⁴ The area most closely bordering visible dramatic space is the interior of the *skene*-building, its activation creating a temporarily increased depth in the transverse axis. This invisible location is variously handled by the dramatists so as to stress either its continuity with or separation from the exterior space of stage, *orkhestra* and auditorium. Because of its proximity to exterior space, this invisible space may be used not only as a narrative space but,

make a prediction but 'they are often wrong about the future: they can be both wrong and right within the compass of a single ode'.

¹⁴² See chapter 4, p.105. Cf. *Kho.* 824, 1046-7, *Antig.* 1115-52, *Trakh.* 633-59, *OK.* 668-706, *Hek.* 629-56 (for the common fate of war beyond nationalities).

¹⁴³ See also *S.El.* 1384-97, *OK.* 1044-95.

¹⁴⁴ For Joerden's 'hinterszenischer Raum' see Conclusion, 198, n.15.

according to the presentation of the action which takes place there, also as invisible dramatic space.

Invisible dramatic space is the space involving enactment even though not seen.¹⁴⁵ The degree of enactment is variable. Cries from inside render the character dramatically active despite his invisibility and may prepare his appearance, re-appearance or for news of his death.¹⁴⁶ His cries are heard in visible space, of which the interior is thus presented as an extension. The characters who are present in visible dramatic space hear the cries of the hero/heroine (or the victims of murder) coming from the *skene*-building or even beyond it (*Phil.*201-19) and comment on them as if they are in the same place as he/she is (*Ag.*1344-7, *S.El.*1406-16).¹⁴⁷ On many occasions, however, the character in the interior does not seem to be aware of their presence or to take account of them. He seems to be soliloquising (*Ai.*334-44, *Med.*96-7, 111-4, 160-67). The mode of progression of the character from invisible to visible dramatic space affects the interrelation between these dramatic spaces. In most plays he/she seems to be just behind the *skene*-façade, standing still and waiting to enter (*Ag.*1379 ἐνθα, *S.El.*77, 1414-25).¹⁴⁸ In *Medeia* the chorus and the Nurse comment on Medeia's condition but apart from her cries which enact the state she is in, there are no comments on her movements or progression from there to the exterior and the exact space she occupies in the house is never specified (*Med.* 24-8, 96-212).¹⁴⁹ However, the gradual progression of the character as presented by the comments of the visible characters leads to a dynamic interplay between the invisible and visible dramatic spaces. The immediacy of the character's entry is achieved through the combination of enactment (in invisible space) and narrative (in visible space). In terms of time, performance and narrative time converge.¹⁵⁰ A very illuminating example of such an entry is Philoktetes' first entry (*Phil.*201-19).¹⁵¹ The action in the tent of Aias is unique because it receives attention from both outside (by Athena and Aias himself *Ai.*55-117) and inside

¹⁴⁵ For the term 'invisible dramatic space' see chapter 1, p.18. For a discussion of action in the interior which is reported see p.92 below.

¹⁴⁶ See also Goward, 32-3.

¹⁴⁷ Also *Ai.*334-44, *Or.*1296-310, *E.El.*1165-71, *Med.*96-212; cf. *Hek.*1035-42.

¹⁴⁸ In *OT.* there are no cries from inside but simultaneous report as Oidipous is at the doors (*OT.*1287-96).

¹⁴⁹ In *Or.*34-45 the comments of Elektra refer to Orestes' illness (who later also cries during his delirium in *Il.*255-77) but he is visible to the audience, even though neutralised.

¹⁵⁰ On narrative time see Appendix II, pp.207, 210.

¹⁵¹ See chapter 6, pp.176-8.

(Tekmessa *Ai.*285-6) and is in contrast to his second entry when he is sane (346ff). Thus Sophokles views the interior of the tent first as invisible dramatic space, then as adjacent narrative space, and then as invisible dramatic space again (331-45), the categories finally converging at l.346.¹⁵²

Such entries from inside often imply that a dangerous character is to come out, the cries accentuating the dramatic effect. The character is, however, apparently very calm when he enters. Thus the passage from invisible to visible space is seemingly easier than what was expected from the introduction to the entry and the otherness or the uniqueness of the character suggested by the comments of the other characters.¹⁵³ The entry preparation for Medeia is noticeable (*Med.*172-213). Medeia appears to be composed when she becomes visible but the audience does not forget the ambiguity of this character which is reinforced by the preparation for her entry in which she is compared to a lioness (*Med.*187, also δεινὴ in *Med.*44).¹⁵⁴

The space behind the *skene*-façade may also be viewed as belonging to the adjacent narrative space. The action in the interior is presented as occurring just behind the door but, in this case, it is reported afterwards. The use of the ἐξάγγελος in such scenes is very common. He comes out of the interior where normally a suicide or an ominous event has already occurred to report it (*OT.*1237-85, *Ag.*1372-98: self-report of Klytaimnestra).¹⁵⁵ The convention is subverted in *Or.*1356-59 in which the chorus virtually asks for the *ekkyklema* or a servant to come out, but the Servant who enters is a barbarian and does not offer the conventional detailed report of the death. The lack of a report is also significant, as in *Kho.*873-80, where there is no report of Aigisthos' death or its exact location, apart from the Servant's brief reaction, because of the immediacy

¹⁵² Cf. *Or.*1345-6, 1490-93. Ll.1347-8 are interesting for their staging but deleted by Diggle, see app.crit. *ad loc.*

¹⁵³ Cf. chapter 6, pp.183-4. This is not the case with Aias. His first entry reinforces the expectations of the audience (Odysseus' reaction is indicative, *Ai.*81-2). His second entry is cancelled as Tekmessa comes out to offer a report of the events before Aias appears devastated on the *ekkyklema*.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *Med.*92-3, *Ai.*325-6. Oidipous is both fearsome and pitiful (*OT.*1297-306).

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *Antig.*1301-5; for the dispute about the identity of the character, see Dawe, app.crit. on l.1301, Lloyd-Jones-Wilson, app.crit. on l.1301. In both editions these lines are attributed to the ἐξάγγελος. Cf. *Kho.*875-80 for the brief intervention of the servant. For the use of the lyric ode in order to allude to the suicide or the event taking place inside almost simultaneously with the event see p.90 above.

of Klytaimnestra's murder (the contrary occurs in *S.El.*1424-29: Klytaimnestra's murder is not announced in detail because of Aigisthos' entry).¹⁵⁶

Events happening inside may also be reported to the exterior space not after the event but simultaneously with it. Eavesdropping or scenes involving peering through the doorway belong to this kind (*Hipp.*565-95). In such scenes the action is presented as if it were taking place in very near narrative space, just behind the façade in front of which the character is most likely to be standing when he reports. In distinction to invisible dramatic space there is here no enactment involved but merely a report outside of an interior action.¹⁵⁷ In *Or.*1281-95 a combination of interior space interestingly treated as both adjacent narrative space and invisible dramatic space occurs. Elektra tries to hear what is happening inside but this report is cancelled since nothing is heard. The focus shifts to the chorus' watching the paths until Helene's cries are heard (1296). As the chorus and Elektra hear these cries, the interior is perceived as invisible dramatic space. This continuity is further reinforced by the dialogue between Elektra and the chorus, responding to stimuli provided by Helene's cries (1297-1310).¹⁵⁸

The door is the boundary which distinguishes interior from exterior space.¹⁵⁹ The closing of the door indicates a strong separation of the interior from the exterior as in *Kho.*653 where the doors are securely closed for the exile Orestes and the strangers as a futile shelter for Klytaimnestra. This separation is reinforced by the exits of main characters into interior space, normally with an ominous suggestion of violent death, as in *Ag.*1330, where the doors close after Cassandra's exit isolating the interior for the murder.¹⁶⁰

Ominous subversions of the proper relationship between the security of the *oikos* and the uncertainties of life outside it, such as entries into the interior of characters or props related to exterior space or vice versa, may affect the semantics and create a new configuration of dramatic space, since they normally reinforce a significant development in the attitude or fate of a character (Agamemnon's entry into the *skene*-building turns the welcoming into murder and

¹⁵⁶ Some examples: *Ai.*891ff (because of the peculiarity of the staging of this suicide), *Antig.*1301-5 (because of the focus on Kreon's lament and exclusion), *Med.*1309ff. (because of the surprising end of this play). For the report in *E.El.*1177-1232 see Appendix I, p.205.

¹⁵⁷ It is interesting that in *Hipp.*581ff. the report does not have the form of a *rhesis* (typical of messengers) but a dialogue with the chorus.

¹⁵⁸ The same pattern is apparent in *S.El.*1400-16 but Elektra gives a short report and responds to the cries separately from the chorus.

¹⁵⁹ See also Lowe, 2000, 170, Padel, 1990, 354-59.

the victor into a victim in *Ag.*956-74).¹⁶¹ In some plays this is signified by men being inside and women outside (*S.El.*516-8: Elektra cannot be kept inside in contrast to the men being inside in 1398ff. before Klytaimnestra's murder which turns Orestes into a killer).¹⁶²

Significant distinction is not the only relationship between interior and exterior. Blurring or even continuity between the two of them is also common. In the case of blurring of this distinction the common means in tragedy is the use of the *ekkyklema*.¹⁶³ The corpses or tableaux it reveals are perceived as being inside even though they are visible outside (*Ag.*1359 ἐνθα).¹⁶⁴ The interior never becomes visible but is merely projected to a shallower point in the transverse axis.¹⁶⁵ An indication of the projection of the *ekkyklema* is the opening of the door (*Her.*1029-30).¹⁶⁶

Continuity between inside and outside is achieved through the opening of the door of the *skene*-building, reinforced sometimes by abrupt or quick entries and exits (especially when the focus is elsewhere) from the interior (*Trakh.*531-5, 663-4, *Or.*112).¹⁶⁷ It is also implied when interior scenes are heard outside (*Trakh.*862-7).¹⁶⁸

In some cases, when the setting does not represent a building, the door is not used, as for example in *Philoktetes* and *OK*.¹⁶⁹ We may assume that the door was opened and then the opening covered with some kind of stylised decoration. In

¹⁶⁰ Cf. *Hek.*1022.

¹⁶¹ Cf. *Phil.*674. For props see the robe in *Trakh.*578-81.

¹⁶² See, for example, *Hipp.*618-50, *Ion* 1320-3, *Or.*1216-224 (the mention of Pylades is deleted see Diggle, app.crit. on l.1224).

¹⁶³ The use of the *ekkyklema* in the fifth century is doubted by Ashby, 1999, 90-2, Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 100-22. Joerden, 1971, Exc.III suggests the opening of the central door, as if all the spectators would have been able to see inside. For the use of the *ekkyklema* in the fifth century see Walton, 1980, 95-7, Bardel, 577, Pittas-Herschbach, 19-21. For the meaning of the *ekkyklema* see Padel, 1990, 360-63.

¹⁶⁴ See chapter 1, p.24. Lowe, 2000, 173, says that the *ekkyklema* results in 'an anti-illusionistic blurring of the distinction between inside and out (permitting physical contact and verbal exchange between characters on the trolley and those naturally still outside)'. See also Wiles, 1997, 162-5, and chapter 5, p.143. But see *S.El.*1466 in which the corpse is outside. See also Taplin, 1989, 105; cf. *Antig.*1293-99. Joerden, 1971, 411, wrongly in my view, rejects its use in *Her.*971-1000 on the grounds that the children are slaughtered in different areas of the house and suggests the even more visually restricted opening of the central door and the carrying out of the corpses, cf. Joerden, 1960, 152-53 for *Aias* and *Eumenides*.

¹⁶⁵ See also chapter 1, p.24.

¹⁶⁶ For its subversion in *Medeia* see *Med.*1315.

¹⁶⁷ For the symbolic meaning of this see pp.96-7 below. See also *Ion* 515-6.

¹⁶⁸ Also in *S.El.*1328-34. Acoustics of outside: *Hek.*172-77, *Or.*1345-6 prepared in 1220-1.

¹⁶⁹ In *Eumenides* the door might not have been used in the part taking place in Athens, (especially after its spectacular use in Delphi), because there is no contrast between interior and exterior and everything is public.

such cases, there is potential for continuity between interior and exterior throughout the play because of the lack of a door to distinguish them scenically. Continuity between the two spaces in these plays is thus permanent and not achieved only at particular moments of the dramatic action, as in the case of the previous examples. A way of creating a distinction between interior and exterior in plays without an active door is the focus on the strong bond between the resident character and the *skene*-building, reinforced by the fact that other characters do not enter it apart from rare exceptions, as Neoptolemos' entry in *Phil.*675.¹⁷⁰

The absence of a resident character from the interior also affects the spatial configuration between interior and exterior. The visible characters may plan a conspiracy against him. After the entry of the absent character into visible dramatic space, the enmity between him and his deceivers is reinforced, especially when the resident victim exits into the *skene*-building, unaware of the conspiracy against him (as in the case of the exit of Agamemnon deceived in *Ag.*957-74).¹⁷¹ I call this type of exit 'deceptive exits'.¹⁷² Deception moves within to end mostly in murder.¹⁷³ These exits are sometimes elaborate and cancelled several times before they are finally completed (Agamemnon and Cassandra in *Ag.*851-974, 1039-1330).¹⁷⁴

The space beyond the *skene*-building and the interior formed by it is normally of no interest in tragedy. The invisible space extends as far as the *skene*-building and what it represents- normally the *oikos*- but what lies beyond it is of no dramatic importance. Rarely, however, this area is activated, as it is in *Hepta* 247 where Thebes is circled by the enemies around the gates but there is an interest both in the *eisodoi* and possibly the area behind the *skene*-building (representing the Akropolis), since the gates surround it. In *Philoktetes*, the focus is equally on

¹⁷⁰ In *OK.* the hero clearly fights to gain control of the location he occupies (in contrast to *Philoktetes*) and is always present despite attempts to be taken away.

¹⁷¹ The exit culminates in cases where the resident character allows his enemies in as in *Phil.*674-5. Note that Cassandra is aware of the deception (*Ag.*1200-2). For the resident as conspirator see *Hek.*980-1022, *E.El.*1139-41; cf. *Or.*1344-5 (with a simultaneous report of Hermione's entrapment inside).

¹⁷² Cf. *Kho.*707-18; see also *S.El.*802. A peculiar case of deception occurs in *Trakh.*298-496. Deianeira's exit with the lying Likhias is cancelled by the Messenger who reveals the truth and makes Likhias do so. Deianeira exits to the *skene*-building with Likhias after the truth is revealed (but prepares her own deception, though unwillingly).

¹⁷³ Goward, 14, says that such scenes are a prelude to murders.

¹⁷⁴ In *Med.*1021 the exit of the children is cancelled until 1080 (or 1055 if the following lines are spurious, see Diggle, app.crit. on ll.1056-80).

the area represented by the *skene*-building and beyond it, as an extension of the same dramatic space, that is, the island of Lemnos.¹⁷⁵

The emblematic meaning of the interior and the visible dramatic space according to the handling of the distinction or the continuity between the two is an interesting area of examination. The opposition between interior and exterior is rich in semantic possibilities. It may signify the contrast between darkness and light (*Hipp.*178-80), which further connotes the opposition between private and public spaces, as in *Trakh.*900-42, 1079ff.¹⁷⁶ In this play the domestic area of the interior is opposed to social/civic exterior space, since the suicide of Deianeira remains in the private space of the interior- her corpse does not appear outside- while the death of Herakles takes place in public in a communal atmosphere because of the presence of his companions. Since the private space of the interior is the domain of women, the opposition also symbolises the contrast between female and male, as in *S.El.*516-20, which also shows that the association of women with the interior leads to a need for an exit cue when women go outside, since Aigisthos' absence is the reason Elektra can be outside (cf.*Hepta* 200-5).¹⁷⁷ Resident characters are also opposed to foreigners, barbarians bringing destruction into the houses they enter (*Trakh.*300-496, 893-5).¹⁷⁸ The association of the interior with secrets leads to the semantic opposition between secrecy or concealment and revelation, as in the case of *Hek.*1049-53, where the interior hides her crime (cf.880).¹⁷⁹

Continuity between visible dramatic space and the interior through the opening of the door may also acquire the symbolic meaning of giving a public tone in a private scene. In *OT.*1287-1312 Oidipous states that he should show his pitiable

¹⁷⁵ See chapter 6, p.174.

¹⁷⁶ For the opposition between light and darkness see *S.El.*1494. The reversal occurs in *Ai.*394-400: darkness extends outside and recalls his 'blindness' in 85-118. For private vs. public spaces see *Ag.*855-974 with the confrontation between Klytaimnestra and Agamemnon, *S.El.*109, 551, 642, *Antig.*1246-9, *OT.*91-4, 223, 327, but contrast *Or.*1-315 (a private scene exposed in public).

¹⁷⁷ Other examples: *Hepta* 230-2, *Antig.*577-9, *Hek.*880-7 with false weakness in *Hek.*1018, *Or.*124-5. The opposition between male and female is subverted as Klytaimnestra is depicted with male characteristics in *Ag.*11, 351 in contrast to a female Agamemnon (918-20). See also Zeitlin, 1990, 63-96. For the need for an exit-cue see *Kho.*22-3, *Antig.*1184-5. Aias meets his doom when he exits from the interior before the prophecy (795-6) that is when he is in the appropriate space for him, the exterior, thus, being hostile to him even though he is male. Cf. *S.El.*20 (expectation of a man to come out but Elektra comes), *E.El.*55-8, but in *Or.*1523-30 the Phrygian belongs to both interior and exterior as he is neither a woman nor a man. See also Taplin, 1989, 103-4, Easterling, 1987, 18-26.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *Med.*255-8.

condition to all Kadmeian citizens which is realised as he enters from the *skene*-building and the chorus' reaction to his appearance.¹⁸⁰ The opening of the door frequently also reveals a secret kept inside (in *Ion* 1320-68, for example, Pythia enters holding the props which lead to the recognition between mother and child).¹⁸¹ It also marks the re-acceptance of an excluded or long absent character (in *Kho.* 707-18 Orestes enters the house after long exclusion but with the false identity of a foreigner).¹⁸²

Dramatic space also interacts with narrative spaces through the *eisodoi*. The interplay between them is indicated by the functions of the narrative spaces: they give additional dimensions to the events happening in visible dramatic space, as in the case of *Hepta* 40-68, 375-652, where the long reports of the events in the battlefield and the gates complete the picture of the city at war visualised in the chorus' terrified entry.¹⁸³ Narrative spaces may also reinforce oppositions already apparent within the visible dramatic space as in *Ai.* 1040-1373 where the conflict between Aias and the camp is visualised by the debate between Teukros and the Atreidai. Exits of characters from dramatic to narrative space according to the dramatic context may also create expectations in the audience about ominous future events to come. Such is the case of *Antig.* 1114, in which Kreon exits after Teiresias' ominous prophecy (cf. *Med.* 975).¹⁸⁴

A sense of unification between the visible dramatic space and the narrative spaces accessed through the *eisodoi* is implied in entries from there in mid-conversation. These create immediacy and make the space from where the characters enter contiguous with the visible dramatic space (*Phil.* 1222-3). Hearing cries from there or responding to what is heard in visible dramatic space by entering creates the same effect (*Ai.* 974-5, 1318-9 respectively, *OK.* 886-90,

¹⁷⁹ Also *Ag.* 1372-425, cf. *Ai.* 348-78. In *OT.* 1054-1075 Iokasta keeps the secret by going inside. The opposition also gets the symbolic meaning of poverty versus riches (*E.El.* 998-1010) and of pollution versus purity (*Ion* 94-101).

¹⁸⁰ Cf. *Ai.* 348-85, *S.El.* 1458-63.

¹⁸¹ *Ll.* 1364-8 are disputed see Diggle, app.crit.*ad loc.* See also *Hipp.* 811-81 and chapter 5, pp. 143-4. See also Lowe, 2000, 170, who remarks that 'the mere act of walking through a door is very often a highly symbolic act of boundary traversal'. Kobińska, 18, discussing the boundaries in modern drama remarks that 'there is no clear-cut boundary between the inside and the outside—this boundary can be actualized only during the crossings'.

¹⁸² A variation is the acceptance of a stranger as indication of hospitality (*Alk.* 541-605, 1147-48). Note the impressive cancellation of the opening of the door and the revelation of the corpses in *Med.* 1314-19, also *Or.* 1567-72.

¹⁸³ Cf. *Trakh.* 335-489, *Antig.* 693-5, 773-80 (city against death-chamber), *S.El.* 871-919, *Ion* 987-1026.

¹⁸⁴ Also *Hepta* 719, *Trakh.* 632. However, Aias' exit acquires ominous meaning after the entry of the Messenger who brings Kalkhas' prophecy (*Ai.* 720-83).

Hek. 1109-13).¹⁸⁵ An interesting case of unification of distant narrative and visible space is the hearing of a god as in *Eum.* 397-8, where Athena hears Orestes' appeal from afar and appears.

Progression and vividness occur in entries from the *eisodoi* leading to a dynamic merging of the two in a way similar to the interaction of invisible and visible dramatic space, even though in this case the distance is presented as greater. In *Trakh.* 955-70 Herakles' gradual approach to the visible dramatic space is lyrically envisaged by the chorus until they see his group of companions. Hippolytos is also presented hunting in the meadow by Aphrodite (*Hipp.* 16-7) until he is heard entering with his group. In this case, however, there is no interest in a detailed account of his progression to visible dramatic space.

Apart from the points of entries and exits, narrative and dramatic space also interact in other ways. An interesting case of interaction between narrative and dramatic (and performance) spaces is the repetition of a similar staging of a scene (and especially an entry) which recalls a previous one but this time with a different meaning. 'Mirror scenes', to use Taplin's term, mark the change of attitude of a character and a turning or even reversal in the plot; in *A.Hik.* 492-99 Danaos asks for attendants for protection when he exits to the city but in *Hik.* 985, attendants are given to Danaos as an accompaniment, a visualisation of the protection and acceptance of the foreigners by Argos; in *Andr.* 147-53, 825-35 Hermione's two entries are contrasted as the luxury and grandeur of her family realised in her clothes is replaced by distress in her throwing of her robes in the second entry.¹⁸⁶

A different kind of dynamic interweaving of dramatic and narrative space occurs in tragedies which have a clear focus on the return of the hero who has, however, been absent for most of the play (for example, *Pers.* 1-909 and *Trakh.* 1-971).¹⁸⁷ From the beginning of these plays the eyes of all the characters who appear in visible dramatic space are on the places where the hero is supposed to

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *E.El.* 747-57 (cries from far but heard vaguely).

¹⁸⁶ Taplin, 1972, 32, 1977, 100-3, 1978, 122-39. Some representative examples: *Ag.* 855ff. contrast 1372ff., *S.El.* 637-59 contrast 1376-83.

¹⁸⁷ In contrast to *Persai*, the focus is on the domestic rather than civic effect of the main hero's absence in *Trakhiniai*. Note also that Hyllos exits and enters within the dramatic time (*Trakh.* 92, 733) marking visually the worry of the *oikos* and a more active reaction to the absence, while the Messenger in *Persai* had exited with Xerxes (no member of the royal family exits to look for him).

be.¹⁸⁸ This space is rather vague (e.g. *Trakh.*40-1) and very distant at first, but then information arrives about the hero's position (the Messenger-like reports in *Trakh.*185-289, 750-806 are noticeable) and, thus, the audience is invited to follow the character's journey back until he reaches visible space through the reactions of the characters in visible dramatic space.¹⁸⁹ Dramatic action and time run parallel to the approach of the hero. For most of the play, the hero's entry seems imminent (*Trakh.*645-60, 805-6) but is postponed until the news of his destruction arrives or has already been reported. On many occasions, another character enters (*Pers.* Dareios, *Trakh.* Hyllos in 734ff, then the Nurse in 871ff.). When the hero finally enters, he brings the narrative space with him and arrives after his catastrophe, devastated and humble (*Pers.*931ff., *Trakh.*983ff). *Agamemnon* is different because the catastrophe of the main character occurs not in far narrative space but in the interior after a majestic entry within the dramatic time of the play.

In *Trakh.* and *Persai*, the visible dramatic space remains quite vague, especially at the beginning of the play, since the focus is so clearly on the detailed depiction of the narrative spaces (*Trakh.*73-5, 236-41, 750-88, *Persai*).¹⁹⁰ Since the chief source material for Greek tragedy is epic narrative poetry, it is perhaps not surprising that the depiction of narrative space receives more detailed attention than that given to dramatic space, especially in the earlier extant tragedies (*Hepta* 375-675, 799-821, with the focus on the gates).¹⁹¹ As the fifth century progressed, visible dramatic space becomes gradually the centre of attention; *Oresteia* in 458 BC indicates this transition which becomes more marked in later plays.¹⁹² Sometimes narrative spaces hardly exist; in *Philoktetes*, for example, there are no near narrative spaces apart from the harbour.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ The action in visible dramatic space in *Andromakhe* depends on the expectation of Neoptolemos' return as saviour of Andromakhe (49-55, 506-9) and as avenger of Hermione (886-986).

¹⁸⁹ See chapter 4, pp.105, 126. Agamemnon's route in *Agamemnon* is indicated by the pyres but there is no detailed reference to his exact location. The only mention is ἤκει (*Ag.*530-1).

¹⁹⁰ See especially chapter 4, pp.110, 126-7. The focus remains on narrative spaces in *Trakh.*1058-61, 1090-1102 (the mythical worlds of Herakles' labours), 1159-71, 1191-9 (oracle and burial).

¹⁹¹ Cf. *Hik.*1-18, 600-24, 713-75, 954-65 with the focus on Egypt and the city and harbour.

¹⁹² *Ag.* focuses on the *oikos* and the interior while the narrative space of Troy receives a vague report, *Kho.* on visible dramatic space and the interior, *Eum.* on visible dramatic space. In *Antigone* the interior is only significant in passing and few details are offered about narrative spaces especially the death chamber since all action occurs outside, in public; cf. also *Phil.*, *OK.*, *Ion*, *E.El.* For stage space as the centre of decision see Lowe, 2000, 172.

¹⁹³ See chapter 6, pp.165-6.

The dynamic interaction between narrative and dramatic space is also evident in cases where the action in the invisible spaces accessed through the *eisodoi* is presented as happening synchronously with the visible characters' comments even though no entry follows. For example, in *Hepta* 287-320 the enemies are imagined to be moving closer to the gates as the chorus sings. The chorus' lyric report of the movement of the army takes place in performance time but also converges with narrative time. However, no member of this army appears in visible dramatic space.¹⁹⁴

Another kind of interaction between narrative and dramatic space is the 'imaginary' or virtual space. This is the space created in the imagination of the character when he is in a delirium. As if in a journey the character is taken to another, invisible space while the actor is visible in front of the audience and plausibly during the creation of the imaginary space enacts the fantasy with gestures (*Kho*.1048-1062, *Or*.255-77).¹⁹⁵

Narrative space is not always presented as a unity with visible dramatic space. Sometimes there is tension between them.¹⁹⁶ The main character may be in conflict with a narrative space; in *Hepta*, for example, the natives in visible dramatic space are against their enemies from the narrative space of Argos.¹⁹⁷ Most usually, however, he is in tension with the visible dramatic space. The hero cannot adjust to the public, social space, because of distinguishing peculiarities in his nature (*Ai*.450-80, 1069-76).¹⁹⁸ Sometimes the character belongs to the public space of the palace, at least until his exclusion (*Hipp*.1101, *OT*.1378-1520).¹⁹⁹ Most commonly, however, he is a complete outsider from the beginning as in the

¹⁹⁴ See *Ai*.955-60, *Trakh*.958-70, *Hipp*.16-7, *A.Hik*.713-23, 825-35 (a corrupt passage, see West, 1990a, app.crit. on ll.825ff. and Page, 1972, app.crit. on ll.836-66).

¹⁹⁵ Cf. *Hipp*.208-31. The case of the description of a dream, as Atossa does in the *Persai*, is different. Despite the fact that the space of the dream is imaginary Atossa does not live or enact the dream in the visible dramatic space. She is agitated because of the fear which the dream has caused in her but she is in control of herself and just narrates it.

¹⁹⁶ Lowe, 2000, 174, considers the antagonism between the family and the wider system (of the offstage space of the outside world) a standard conflict in Greek tragedy.

¹⁹⁷ Some examples: *Ai*.408-9, *Alk*.729-38, *Ion* 589-645, *E.El*.61 and 1004, *Or*.46-8, 427-47. In *Eum*.9-14 the invisible journey of Apollo (before the dramatic time of the play) from Delos to Athens ends in Delphi, which turns a wild land into a tamed one. A reversed parallel is Orestes' and Apollo's journey within the dramatic time of the play from Delphi to Athens which brings Apollo back to where he stopped in his first journey. Athens, despite being presented as a city of civilisation and justice (*Eum*.81-3), is threatened to become wild because of the primitive Erinyes. However, with their reconciliation with Athena Athens remains the symbol of culture.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. *Hipp*.78-83, *Antig*.508, 656, 876-882, 919-20 (Antigone), 732-9, 1342-6 (Kreon). Dawe, in his edition, indicates, that ll.1342-4 are corrupt; compare Lloyd-Jones- Wilson, 1990, ll.1341-4. *Aias* conforms with the common law and Gods only falsely (*Ai*.666-70).

example of *Eum.* 179-97, 778-92. Erinyes are excluded from both visible dramatic spaces (cf. *Ai.* 4).²⁰⁰ Medeia is also a stranger even before the dramatic time of the tragedy, a barbarian who resides in Corinth because of her husband. She is excluded both socially and spatially (the centre of authority is in narrative space, *Med.* 253-8, 272-353).²⁰¹

On some occasions the tension is resolved by offering a new home to the outsiders, especially to suppliants, who accept it gladly (*A.Hik.* 954ff, *OK.* 636-49).²⁰² However, some characters are against any integration with society or the acceptance of a new home (e.g. *Eum.* 837-46). They are normally depicted as wild creatures who have transcended human nature and the space they are associated with is itself a space of exclusion (*Philoktetes* and *Eumenides*, visible Lemnos, and invisible Underworld respectively). The tension between dramatic and narrative spaces culminates in scenes of exclusion of the character from the visible dramatic space (*E.El.* 1308-41).²⁰³

Narrative space also converges sometimes with performance space, especially in the case of tragedies in which Athens is referred to as narrative space far away from the dramatic space, although it is the actual space of performance (*Pers.* 230-44).²⁰⁴ In *Persai* the dramatic space never 'becomes' Athens and thus Athens converges with the performance space only in the audience's perception and not in that of the characters/ performers. Narrative and performance spaces converge actively for both the audience and the performers when at the end of the play the visible dramatic space dissolves and there is an opening to the performance space of Athens. Thus in *Hipp.* 1459 the cult of Hippolytos transcends the boundaries of the visible space of Trozen and narrative space and performance space converge as Theseus addresses Athens.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁹ In *Ag.* 1401-2 the chorus after the murder wants to expel Klytaimnestra, cf. *Andr.* 155-60 in contrast to 855, 922-28 (Hermione).

²⁰⁰ Other examples: *OK.* 3, 50, 207, *Kho.* 130-7, cf. *S.El.* 189-92.

²⁰¹ Cf. *Andr.* 566-71, *Hek.* 160-4, 495-6, 669, 810-11.

²⁰² See also *Andr.* 984 (Hermione), 1243-49 (Andromakhe). It is accepted problematically in *Med.* 709-71.

²⁰³ Self-exclusion: *Ai.* 657, *Andr.* 989; cf. *Kho.* 283, 289-96, 1042, (excluded Orestes before and after the murder). For a corpse of an exile not accepted in visible dramatic space see *Hepta* 1013-7 (but see Page, app.crit. on ll.1005-78), *Antig.* 201-6. In such cases a marker, such as the closing of the door of the *oikos* (possibly occurring in *Trakh.* 820, *Hipp.* 1089) is normally required to shift the focus of attention from the visible space to the space where the hero goes for his exile.

²⁰⁴ Cf. *Eum.* 79-80, *Med.* 771, 824-45 (lyric). In *OK.* 14-5, 107-10, 643 the city of Athens is in near narrative space.

²⁰⁵ See chapter 5, pp.161-2.

Narrative and lyric spaces often form a sequence when an invisible event is stressed (for example, in *OK*.1556-665).²⁰⁶ After an ode describing the action allusively but simultaneously to it, a Messenger comes to offer a realistic and thorough report of the event (*Hipp*.1101ff).²⁰⁷ In contrast to the eclectic and distanced description of the choral ode, the account by the messenger is immediate and sequential. The information which is relayed might not be very different from what was sketched in the song but the way it is relayed and the perspectives within which it is viewed are. A major difference between narrative and lyric spaces is that the events in choral odes are viewed in a general, distanced and larger perspective (*Hepta* 321-68).²⁰⁸ The particular becomes universal and the case of the main character is presented as an example of the general condition (for example, *Antig*.943-87). In the Messenger's report, by contrast, the detailed and linear account of the narrative space focuses on the particular events of the play. The distinctions between these two modes of presentation of the same event are not, however, rigid because many times lyric and narrative spaces intermingle, especially at the end of the odes in which there is a gradual narrowing of focus to the specifics of the play, particularly to interior scenes (in *Hepta* 720-91, there is a narrowing from the past to the effects of *Ara*, cf. *Hipp*.732-75).²⁰⁹

A mixture of narrative and lyric spaces occurs in the journeys from a narrative space to the dramatic space described in choral odes. In this case, the space of the departure belongs to narrative space but also merges with lyric space since the chorus does not offer a detailed account of the journey and offers parallels for the route from myths outside the play as in *A.Hik*.1-18, 126-36 for the journey to Argos. A similar case is the narration of past events related to the

²⁰⁶ Similarly argues Goward, 19, to show the contrast of mode possible within Attic drama. Pittas-Herschbach, 161, says that 'in contrast with the chorus, which evokes the imaginary areas in a lyrical vein and has, in general, no access to them after the *Parodos*, the Messenger establishes a vital link between the offstage area and the visible scene by reporting and recreating a crucial development which occurred offstage'. For the lack of a Messenger report see pp.92-3 above.

²⁰⁷ Simultaneous allusion to an event also occurs in *S.El*.1384-97, *OK*.1044-95. Note, however, that the Messenger in *Ai*.749-802, brings ominous news for a future death and not one already committed as he reports the words of a prophet. See Goward, 2, for the scenes of 'simultaneous' narrative. Sometimes a choral song may replace a Messenger speech, see Goward, 23, on *OK*.

²⁰⁸ *Antig*.332-75, 781-90, *OT*.863-910, *S.El*.472-515, *Kho*.585-651, *Med*.1081-1115, *Andr*.766-87.

²⁰⁹ Also *A.Hik*.776-824 narrowing to the Egyptians, especially the visualisation of this entry with the herald's movements in ll.825-835 (but see Page, app.crit, *ad loc*). See also *S.El*.1058-69 (general), with a focus on Elektra in 1070-97, cf. *Andr*.789-801. For this pattern in the second *stasimon* of *OT*. see Carey, 1986, 175-9.

play but which do not belong to its dramatic time (for example, in *Hek.*905-51 about the capture of Troy).²¹⁰

I have left the analysis of the interrelation between dramatic and lyric spaces until last because it has been partly discussed in the analysis of lyric space and its functions.²¹¹ I focus here on the ways the interaction between these two categories affects the creation and perception of visible dramatic space. The distancing from visible space during a choral ode often prepares the audience for a new stage configuration when the focus of attention returns to dramatic space after the end of the ode (in *Kho.*639-45 the knock of justice is visualised in Orestes' knocking at the door of the palace, a space which is dramatically activated for the first time in the play; cf. *Hipp.*1267-82).²¹²

Towards the end of the play and its dramatic climax, the role of the *stasima* and the time reserved for them is contracted (in *Trakh.*971ff. there is no *stasimon* after Herakles' entry). The songs are either short or absent and the lack of lyric spaces recalled apparent, so that the focus remains on the significant action in visible dramatic space. So, in *Hipp.*1268-82 the brief *astrophōn* prepares antithetically for Artemis' entry, while in *Ag.*1346-71 there is great interest in the chorus' contemplation of their next actions but no song in the crisis with Aigisthos before the end of the play.²¹³ Lyric spaces occur towards the end of the plays when the chorus remains inactive in moments of dramatic crisis and does not move actively to stop an event. This inactivity is compensated by the activation of its poetic memory, creating distancing from the specifics of the dramatic action by offering mythical examples from different times and spaces such as the case of the *stasimon* after the infanticide in *Med.*1282-92.²¹⁴

The absence of lyric spaces throughout a play occurs when the dramatic action is unremittingly emphasised. Thus, in *Hepta* the focus is on the effects of the imminent battle on the visible characters and especially Eteokles, while in *Eumenides* there is active participation of the chorus as one of the main *dramatis*

²¹⁰ For the lyricised narrative spaces see chapter 4, p.129. A similar case are the flashbacks of the character. The character recalls his own past (*OT.*774-813, *OK.*510-48 in a lyric exchange) but this includes events outside the time and space of the world of the play.

²¹¹ See pp.88-90 above.

²¹² See chapter 5, pp.157-8 for the activation of the roof after the *stasimon*. Cf. *OK.*1448-99.

²¹³ Cf. *Phil.*1222 no *stasimon* after Philoktetes' exit since Odysseus and Neoptolemos enter. Brief *stasima*: *O.K.*1556-78, *Med.*1279-92. Contraction does not only occur in the *stasima*. Before the murders there is rapidity in time and need for action (*Ag.*1240, 1301, *S.El.*1484-1501). Cf. *OK.*1115, 1579 (but not fulfilled since long accounts follow).

personae.²¹⁵ The same limitation occurs in *Persai*. The chorus' poetic memory is confined to the limits of their dramatic identity (Persian elders), possibly because this play belongs to the category of 'historical tragedies' and therefore might be exceptional in relation to mythical tragedies.²¹⁶ In the latter it is common that the chorus has a wider poetic knowledge which extends beyond its particular dramatic identity.

The discussion of the proposed spatial categories (performance- dramatic-reported) in the first chapter and ways in which they interact offers a brief and selective overview of tragic space. It aims, in particular, at outlining a wider frame of reference within which the following close analysis of selected passages from the three chosen plays (*Persai*, *Hippolytos*, *Philoktetes*) may be situated.

²¹⁴ See also Goward, 24, who argues that this inactivity 'highlights the helplessness of humans in general, and reflects the sensations of the audience'.

²¹⁵ Cf. chapter 6, p.185.

²¹⁶ See chapter 4, p.126.

Chapter 4: *Persai*

The first exemplifying case I present is *Pers.*598-851. This passage includes the invocation of Dareios' ghost, his appearance and speeches about the past, present and future of Persia before the climactic entry of Xerxes with which the play concludes. An introduction to the contexts of this passage and especially the handling of space prior to l.598 is desirable.

Until this line the focus is on narrative spaces. There is a clear distinction between near and far locations: the palace and the city form the narrative spaces which are imagined to be adjacent to the visible dramatic space. These near narrative spaces serve to depict the centre of government of the vast and heterogeneous Persian empire (1-15).¹ Lyric space, however, contributes a more sweeping vision of the narrative space of Persia, as the chorus evokes a general perspective of the empire (12-136, 535-50, 576-82). By contrast, Greece (and especially Athens) is mapped as a foreign country far away from Persia. Before Dareios' invocation this narrative space receives the undivided attention of the visible characters, since the central issue is the fate of the expedition of the Persian army there and the return of their King, Xerxes (2ff.). The chorus and Atossa comment on the consequences for them of his absence in this distant location (8-11, 116, 165-9). The refocusing of the audience's perception of space in the conversation between Atossa and the chorus about Athens (230-48), just before the Messenger's entry, functions as a topographical preparation for his detailed reports of the events in Greece (302-514). This narration further stimulates Atossa's and the chorus' interest both in the distant space of the catastrophic defeat of the Persian army and in Xerxes' escape from it (472-9, 558-67). Narrative space is thus dynamically intertwined with the visible dramatic space, since the visible characters always look towards the distant horizon of Greece and powerlessly react to the news they receive from there. In the vertical axis, the dominant narrative space is the Underworld, to where all the Persian army has migrated and which will be dramatically activated by the appearance of Dareios.² This attention to narrative spaces may be justified, as I

¹ This centre, however, is not active dramatically because of the King's absence; cf. p.109.

² See pp.111-2 below.

have suggested in chapter 3, by adherence to the epic tradition, whose influence is especially strong in the earlier surviving plays.³

In the following discussion of ll.598-851, particular cases are approached both in their own right and as a means of viewing the handling of space in the play as a whole. It is hoped that so doing will serve to demonstrate that *Persai* is not, as is sometimes supposed, a 'primitive' play and that spatial phenomena which become the norm in later tragedies are also to be detected in this play, whether already developed or, sometimes, in a less elaborate form.⁴

Atossa's entry from the palace (598) may usefully be seen in the context of the dynamics of Aiskhylos' handling of the horizontal axis generally. The distinction between Greece and Persia, mentioned above, is spatially expressed in the opposition between the *eisodoi* which lead to them.⁵ The play thus follows the pattern also to be seen in later tragedies, namely, that one side-entrance leads to near spaces while the other one to distant places. This distinction is further reinforced by the exclusive use of each *eisodos* by different characters. Thus, Atossa and the chorus enter through the *eisodos* which leads to the palace and the city, while the Messenger and Xerxes use the other one returning from Greece, the place of the Persian defeat.⁶

In *Persai* this spatial opposition acquires a particular symbolic meaning: it stresses the contrast between Greece and Persia not only in spatial terms but in their ideologies and value systems. Greece does not merely belong to another continent. It also represents another culture. The land itself, harsh and poor (794), is a symbol of the Greeks' values.⁷ Against the excessive wealth and luxury of Persia as indicated by the richness in gold (πολυχρύσων in 3, 9, 45, 53) and the Persians' arrogant behaviour (533) but also fear (391) is

³ See chapter 3, p.99.

⁴ For Aiskhylos (and especially *Persai*) as 'primitive' in contrast particularly to Euripides see chapter 2, pp.44-5, and Conclusion, p.195.

⁵ I entirely disagree with the view that there was only one *eisodos* in this play, as Flickinger, 1930, 90-4, Joerden, 1960, 147, 1971, 370-2, argue. Joerden never explicitly mentions how and from where Atossa and the chorus enter. The palace and the empire belong to the 'Umgebung'- and not to invisible space- according to Joerden's tables, 1971, 377. However, they definitely do not form part of the surroundings to the visible dramatic space of the play, since they are at a distance from it, especially the empire. Against this view see also Taplin, 1977, 450, who, however, does not mention Joerden among its advocates.

⁶ The chorus' dramatic identity (πιστά, 2, ἐδράνων φύλακες, 4) and their knowledge of the condition in the city (15, 134-7) indicate quite clearly that they must have entered from the city and especially the part of it near the palace. Xerxes at the very end of his play also exits through the *eisodos* which leads to the city and possibly the Messenger has exited from there (but as normally in Greek tragedy the exits of minor characters are not given attention in the text).

⁷ See Hall, 1996, on ll.480-514.

counterpoised the Greeks' moderation, bravery (394, 1025) and piety to the gods (347, 404).⁸ The contrast is further reinforced by the difference between the political and social values of the two countries. Monarchy is opposed to democracy, fear of power to freedom of expression and respect for values rather than persons (241-2, 694-6).⁹ In Asia the centre of everything is the Great King and the keyword of his status is 'subjection' of the nations to his undeniable power (24, 58).¹⁰

The horizontal axis also reinforces the contrast between past and present, a dominant theme of the play.¹¹ Both the chorus and Atossa who are admirers of the past and remember the grand period of Dareios' reign with great nostalgia (696, 709-11), enter through the same *eisodos*.¹² The other is used by Xerxes, the representative of the new ideas, and the Messenger, who before him brings the news of the disastrous defeat. This *eisodos* signifies the new which has failed to surpass or even equal the old (665, 782).¹³ The opposition between the *eisodoi* also reflects another contrast which gives a wider perspective to the perception of the events which happen in the visible dramatic space, namely, the contrast between the active and passive response to the events which took place in Greece. The *eisodos* used by the Messenger and Xerxes indicates the fall imposed directly from outwards and the national loss. They are the ones who had direct contact with Greece and are active sufferers from its results. They come from the battlefield to indicate how the excessive lifestyle of Persia, embodied in Xerxes, when confronted by another and opposing cultural system was found vulnerable and weak, not strong and impenetrable, as Xerxes had believed when he exited from the same *eisodos* (91 ἀπρόσοιστος). Atossa and the chorus, however, are the ones who, rather than being active participants, receive the bad

⁸ The use of many adjectives with the first compound πολυ- reinforces the notion of wealth and excessiveness of Persia (e.g. 83). The Greek values lead to victory despite the fact that the Greeks had to fight against a terrifying and much more numerous army (e.g. 24-8, 48, 337-440). See also Goldhill, 189-93.

⁹ On the contrast between despotism and freedom see Petrounias, 21-2. Sommerstein, 1996, 415, says that freedom is the 'keyword' of the Greek cry at Salamis (403). Hall, 1996, 6, remarks that the Athenians looked 'in other cultures for the most important dimensions of their own self-image (as democratic, non-hierarchical, as guided by the ideals of moderation, self-restraint and manliness)' which Persians lack.

¹⁰ Cf. also Xerxes' aim in l.234 to make Greece subject to the King. For the image of the yoke see Anderson, 167-8.

¹¹ See also p.123 below.

¹² The stress on Atossa's and the chorus' old age is also noticeable (156, 704, 832: Atossa; 4, 171, 264, 681-2, 784: chorus). See de Romilly, 145.

¹³ See also de Romilly, 148, for the contrast between old and young men.

news about the defeat. So, they offer a restricted view of the events, giving expression to the internal impact of the disaster and the reaction of the citizens left behind.

This is clear in Atossa's second entry in l.598. In ll.607-8 (τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδε ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων| χλιδῆς τε τῆς πάροιθεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν) Atossa draws the audience's attention to the visual contrast between her previous spectacular entrance and this one. She stresses that she took the same route as before and enters from the same place, the palace, but here the analogy breaks down because, as these lines indicate, Atossa then appeared with a chariot and finery and came from χρυσεόστολμους δόμους.¹⁴ Previously, she represented the powerful Persian empire and Xerxes' divine status as the Great King (155-7).¹⁵ The origins of the kingship were divine as the Persian inscriptions in Susa and Naqs-I-Rustam indicate (for example, DSf 17-22 'Ahuramazda chose me as (his) man in all the earth; he made me king in all the earth').¹⁶ The Messenger's story has, however, reversed her position and this is reflected in the way she enters this time. Atossa comes on foot and possibly without a retinue of attendants, who may have appeared in the earlier entrance as a visual reinforcement of the wealth and excessive lifestyle of the royal household.¹⁷

Atossa's emphasis on her entry without a chariot raises the disputed question of the distance of the palace from the visible dramatic space.¹⁸ There is no straightforward answer, since the palace's exact location is not presented in any detail even though it is mentioned many times.¹⁹ This topographical vagueness is a more significant issue for the semantics of the play than its distance. Not only is the palace placed in narrative space but also its location is not accurately

¹⁴ For a mirror scene here see Taplin, 1977, 102-3. Polacco, 1984, 86, suggests that Atossa enters from the *skene*-door in the second entry to indicate 'un' altra atmosfera'. But Di Benedetto, 81, n.32, rightly says that 'la Regina nel v.608 fa riferimento alla stessa casa alla quale faceva riferimento al v.159'. In my view the deictic and especially the use of πάλιν make this undoubted.

¹⁵ The power of the king was unquestionably tied with the will of the gods (101-5, 164). Nevertheless, despite the official addresses as 'god' (80, 157) there seems to be a kind of dislike on the part of ancient deities for Xerxes' way of ruling (158). The chorus never addresses Xerxes as 'god' or god-like' after l.157.

¹⁶ According to DN1 the god gave the entitlement and the ability to the king to rule nations (Inscription DN1). For a translation of the inscriptions see Kent, 1953, 138-40 (DNa, DNb), 143-4 (DSf) cf. ll.1-8, 30-34, 47-60 in DNa; ll.1-5, ll.45-9 in DNb; ll.8-12 in DSf.

¹⁷ Against the presence of attendants in the second entry see Taplin, 1977, 99, Sommerstein, 1996, 86, Hall, 1996, on ll.607-8.

¹⁸ See, for example, Hall, 1996, on ll.140-1, Arnott, 1962, 57-8, Taplin, 1977, 453-4, Hammond, 1972, 429-30, who argue for a considerable distance of the visible space from the palace. Against this view are Konzenievski, 549-550, Bees, 1995, 88-9.

presented because it is never activated as a place of significant dramatic action, since the King is absent. Thus the centrality of the palace both in performance space, where it is normally represented by the *skene*-building, and in dramatic space, as the dwelling of the main characters, an identification attested in almost all later surviving plays is not exploited in *Persai*, possibly because of the restricted role of the palace as the place of political authority. The emptiness of the palace may also be seen as a symbol of the 'emptying' of the Persian empire. Atossa's personal space is affected by this perception of the palace: despite her connection with it, since she enters from there twice, she is not depicted as a political leader but as Xerxes' mother and Dareios' wife (e.g. 156, 211, 221-2). Thus, she symbolises a palace which is given from the beginning of the play the characteristics of a domestic rather than public space.²⁰ This notion of the palace is accentuated after the Messenger's news. The weakness of its political power because of Persia's loss of all men implies the possible cancellation of its existence, since there are no men and nations to be ruled (evident in the 'lyric' vision of the chorus about the effect of Xerxes' defeat on the whole Persian empire in ll.532-97, cf. 955-1037). The palace after Xerxes' entry should regain its King and thus its role as the centre of political authority but this role is cancelled, because Xerxes comes back alone and humiliated.

The semantics of Atossa's second entry are connected with the conception of the palace as mainly domestic space. Her entry in contrast to her first appearance is 'a visual demonstration of Persia's downfall'.²¹ The absence of the chariot on which she made her first entry and of the formal addresses and movements by the chorus who, at the first entrance, possibly prostrate themselves in front of the Queen (152-3) but now most likely remain standing without any formal announcement of her arrival, have attracted comment as emblematic signifiers of Persia's loss of wealth and power.²² The function of her reappearance in the articulation of the play has, however, not received adequate attention.

¹⁹ See for example l.159, 230, 530, 849, 1069 (δόμοι).

²⁰ Cf. the repetition of παῖς in 177, 197, 227. The use of δόμοι instead of ἔδρανα (4) and the fact that Xerxes appointed not Atossa but the chorus as guardians of his domain (7) reinforce this notion. The only exception is Atossa's worries about Xerxes' authority being threatened (213-4).

²¹ Sider, 191. Taplin, 1977, 78, says that 'the Queen has learned that wealth *per se* without judgement or divine favour is superficial and vulnerable. When this realisation is reached the chariot...has become the symbol of a moral attitude'. Petrounias, 14, comments on 'diese freiwillige Erniedrigung der Königin vor den Göttern'.

²² Sider, 189, n.3, claims that if the chorus lies prostrate in the first entry of Atossa, the dramatic effect of its standing in this scene is greater. He remarks, 190-1, that the Persians who bowed

Atossa's entry motivates a turning of the play from events in narrative space to action in visible dramatic space. All visible characters were until now merely responding to what happened in Greece and their undivided attention to narrative space may justify the handling of visible dramatic space until this point of the play. The dramatic space, where exactly the chorus and Atossa are, remains vague.²³ As mentioned above, an impressionistic description of Persia is given by the chorus but no topographical detail has yet identified the visible space with a specific location.²⁴ This vagueness may be primarily explained by the focus on the narrative locations especially the distant one of Greece.²⁵

Atossa introduces the section in which the audience's attention is drawn to Dareios' invocation and appearance. The visible space is not merely the pole opposed to 'Greece' anymore. The focus turns to the encounter, though never fulfilled on stage, between father and son within the boundaries of the visible dramatic space. As often in Athenian drama, the generational gap between them symbolises the polarised value systems of past and present.²⁶ Atossa, as the mother of Xerxes and wife of Dareios, is the most appropriate figure to introduce the section in which the past is actively involved in the present through Dareios' and, later, Xerxes' appearance.²⁷

Atossa's two entries are also minor reflections of Xerxes' actions. So, Atossa's first entry corresponds to Xerxes' much more impressive exit to Greece through the other *eisodos*, which is imagined by the audience in the *parodos* (12-64).²⁸ By contrast, the fall of the empire depicted in Atossa's second entry finds its larger equivalent in Xerxes' forthcoming entry (909ff), a parallelism

before the king, now bow before the gods (497-99) and says that the symbolic and literal 'falls' of the chorus between the two entrances of Atossa 'find a visual counterpart for the 'fall' of the Persian power'. Cf. 587 where the nations will not prostrate in front of the king (contrast 930 where Asia kneels, an analogue possibly to Xerxes' kneeling in visible dramatic space).

²³ Taplin, 1977, 65, notes that the chorus do not mention the reason of their entry or where they are until l. 140. Taplin, 68, explains it on the grounds that 'Aeschylus wants the chorus, as soon as it has established its identity and status, to turn to the crucial theme of the return of the King and so to the departure of his expedition'.

²⁴ For the chorus' lyric description of Persia see p. 105 above.

²⁵ It may also perhaps be suggested that, since *Persai* is a historical tragedy, there might not have been a background of poetic tradition available to the dramatist, as in the case of mythical tragedies in which there was a long series of detailed literary descriptions of a location offered by previous versions of the story. However, any suggestions on this matter are speculative because of the lack of mythical tragedies from this period. For *Persai* and the 'historical tragedy' see Tourraix, 99-117, Castellani, 1-16. Lazenby, 151-97, contrasts Aiskhylos' play with Herodotos; see also Podlecki, 4-5, 15-6. For a summary of the issue see Hall, 1996, 5-6.

²⁶ For example, *Antig.* 631-765, *OK.* 1254-1396.

²⁷ Taplin, 1977, 115, notes that Dareios is 'among the dead who may be particularly relevant to the present'.

reinforced if the chorus remains standing when he enters, as it also seems to do at Atossa's second entry.²⁹ Atossa's entry represents the effects of the news on herself (602-5), even though she also represents the palace and the whole Persian empire seems to be focalised through her private experience of this loss. She thus shows the consequences of the loss within the spatial and temporal limits of the play. Xerxes' entry offers a wider perspective in terms of space and time. It visualises the national loss and offers a wider temporal perspective, since the catastrophic defeat will also affect the empire in the future (1005-37).

Following Atossa's motivation the chorus starts singing the 'anacletic' hymn, a chant for a ghost-raising (619-23).³⁰ The way in which the invocation was performed is a matter of controversy. L.683 certainly indicates that it was a visually striking enactment with sounds and special visual effects possibly related to real ritual practices.³¹ It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the choreography with any precision. The use of vase-painting as an indication of the way in which this part was staged, as I have previously argued, is inappropriate.³² What is certain is that in contrast to later tragedies in which spectacular events are normally reserved for narrative spaces, this scene must have been very impressive for the audience, as the ghost is asked to ascend and finally appears.³³ The chorus stresses Dareios' value as a king and his divine character and establishes contact with him in the Underworld by invoking him as its advisor at this difficult time for Persia (632). There is a vertical expansion of the dramatic space below towards Dareios (633-40) setting a clear focus on his ascent (624, 659) until this is completed. The lowest part of the vertical axis, the narrative space of the Underworld is thus dramatically activated.

At the end of the invocation an additional feature of the Underworld is recalled, which unites the song with all the previous events of the play. The place from where Dareios comes is the narrative space to which the best of the Persian populace, significantly not including Xerxes, has moved (for example,

²⁸ See Petrounias, 14-5, on the correspondence between Atossa's and Xerxes' scenes.

²⁹ Petrounias, 22, remarks that instead of the *proskynesis* (normal to despotism) in front of Xerxes, he is greeted with complaints by the chorus. Sommerstein, 1996, 94, says that the councillors do not prostrate in Xerxes' entry, but Xerxes possibly almost drops to his knees.

³⁰ For the anacletic hymn see Hall, 1996, on ll.620-1.

³¹ See Hall, 1996, on ll.667-8, for the interpretation of the Stygian mist as smoke. For the correlation between the necromancy and real ritual practices see Hall, 1996, on ll.623-80. For a discussion about the chorus' gestures and magic see Headlam, 59.

³² See chapter 2, pp.46-7.

441-4, 918-25).³⁴ This abundance of Persians in the Underworld contrasts with the few survivors of Xerxes' army (508-11) and thus with Persia's emptiness of men (548-57, 718, 730).

The impressive invocation culminates with the appearance of the ghost.³⁵ The way in which this entry was staged has caused much dispute. In my view, Dareios' appearance is connected with the use of the *skene*-building in this play. The existence of a *skene*-building and, assuming its existence, the dramatic identity which it acquires have been one of the most controversial issues in discussions of *Persai*. In the second chapter, I argued that a *skene*-building must have already been erected in the theatre of Dionysos by the time of the *Persai* and suggested that there was place for it from the beginning of the productions there.³⁶ In form the *skene*-building in *Persai* must have been a simple rectangular building.³⁷ In this play I believe that the *skene*-building was used not only as a functional building for the actors to change masks and costume but also that it is possible to detect an attempt to give it dramatic status within the world of the play as the tomb of Dareios. While the possibility cannot be excluded that references to a building in the *Persai* are purely verbal rather than describing a visible representation, the entrance of Dareios is, in my view, a clear recognition of the powerfulness of the *skene*-building as a potential element within the play.

Before referring to *Persai* in particular, I will try to offer a brief outline of the way in which the development of the *skene*-building as a dramatic space may be imagined. At the beginning this very simple and temporary building must have been erected for practical reasons such as the actors' change of costumes and masks.³⁸ The presence of this functional building in the performance space suggested to dramatists the possibility of its dramatic use. The point when this innovation was considered or the name of the dramatist who conceived this idea cannot be defined accurately, given the complete lack of evidence about the

³³ In *Kho*.489-96 Agamemnon does not appear. The other two ghosts in Greek tragedy (Klytaimnestra in *Eum.* and Polydoros in *Hek.*) are not invoked.

³⁴ See also the ominous participle οἰχομένων 1, and 59-60 (ἀνθος) also in 250-2, 670, 989. Cf. Avery, 1964, 173-4.

³⁵ Hall, 1996, on ll.623-80, says that he might be visible from ll.660-1.

³⁶ See ch. 2, pp.43-5. See also Dale, 261, for the *Persai*.

³⁷ Broneer's suggestion, 305-11, for Xerxes' tent as the background for *Persai* is inappropriate because of its temporality and the variety of setting in other plays. There is also no textual indication about the presence of Xerxes' tent. For these arguments see also Polacco, 1990, 161. For his suggestion that the tent was replaced by a building resembling a Persian *apadana* see Polacco, 1984, 78-9 and 1990, 161-2.

diversity of tragic space in the plays performed before 472 BC. The ways in which the performance space, and the *skene*-building in particular, was handled in tragedies which drew their themes from the myths is also entirely unknown in a period now represented only by *Persai*. The *Oresteia* is generally accepted as a startling demonstration of explicit and sustained use of the *skene*-building as a dramatic setting. Even though the elaborate use of the *skene*-building in the *Oresteia* might have been novel (especially the dramatic role of the opposition between the interior and the exterior spaces), its dramatic identification of the *skene*-building as the setting of the play might not have been the first instance in Greek tragedy.³⁹ It is equally possible that earlier dramatists experimented with the use of the *skene*-building at moments of dramatic climax, that is to say, moved it gradually within the world of the play.⁴⁰

This assumption may offer an explanation about the handling of the *skene*-building in *Persai*. It is given dramatic identity as the play progresses and reaches the moment when the *skene*-building needs to be activated dramatically. The lack of specific identification before this activation might be related to the undefined nature of the visible dramatic space because of the focus on narrative space until Dareios' invocation. Thus, at the beginning of the play the *skene*-building is identified vaguely as an ancient building.⁴¹ The old men of the chorus call it such in ll.140-1 (τόδε στέγος ἀρχαῖον, 'this ancient building'), the deictic suggesting its visibility.⁴² Since it is described as ancient, the *skene*-building represents the past.⁴³ Then, at the moment of climax, that is, Dareios' invocation, the dramatic identity of the *skene*-building becomes more specific. Possibly

³⁸ West, 1990b, 48, 170, argues that 'in the early years of its use, the *skene* was probably, a light structure, easily dismantled and removed between the plays'.

³⁹ Walton, 1984, 48-9, also remarks this point but relates it to *skenographia*. He notes that 'what accounts for the change between the non-specific *skene* of earlier Aeschylus and the more specific, though versatile, *skene* of the *Oresteia* may well have been the introduction of 'scenic decoration'. For *skenographia* see ch.2, pp.58-64.

⁴⁰ For a similar but not identical progression see Walton, 1984, 48, who says that 'the difference between the earlier plays and the *Oresteia* is one between tragedies which used a *skene* to define stage space and a trilogy in which the form of that *skene* is made to identify somewhere specific'. A similar progression to mine has also been suggested by Pöhlmann, 53-4, and Bees, 1995, 80, 91-2, who, however, build their arguments around the existence of a *skene*-building with three doors. Smith, 257, considers Bees' argument for the existence of a *skene*-building reasonable.

⁴¹ Arnott, 1962, 57 and 1989, 135, argues for the vagueness of the setting at the beginning of the play. He says, 1989, 135, that 'Aeschylus seems deliberately to be generalising his setting: to be invoking, not merely one particular place in Persia, but the whole idea of Persia'.

⁴² The word στέγος has caused much trouble. According to *LSJ* it is a 'building', and later it means 'tomb'. For its meaning see also Hall, 1996, on ll.140-1. Against this Scullion, 69-70, Belloni, on ll.140-1, who suggests 'un symbolico στέγος'. The translations are taken from the edition of *Persians* by Hall, 1996.

l.624 (θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς) is a first indication of an identification of the *skene*-building with the tomb. The word θαλάμους can imply the death chamber.⁴⁴ So, the ancient building of ll.140-1 is now clearly identified with the tomb of Dareios (cf. the *hypothesis* 11-2 'καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος παρὰ τῷ τάφῳ Δαρείου').⁴⁵ Its relation to the past is now justified –in l.656 Dareios is also called by the chorus 'ancient' (ἀρχαῖος) and his tomb must look like such.⁴⁶

An objection concerning the identification of the *skene*-building with Dareios' tomb has been that a tomb of such large scale is uncommon.⁴⁷ However, an examination of the archaeological evidence for Persian tombs around the fifth century BC proves the contrary. I adduce two pieces of such evidence: the tombs of Kyros and Dareios (figs.3-4).



Fig. 3 Kyros' tomb (from Bell, p.204)

The tomb of Kyros is a rectangular chamber elevated upon a plinth graduated into seven stages. The total height of this building is about 11m and the tomb itself is 6.5m long.⁴⁸



Fig. 4 Dareios' tomb (from Bell, p.206)

⁴³ See also Hall, 1996, on ll.140-1.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Her.* 807, *E.Hik.* 1022.

⁴⁵ See also Taplin, 1977, 105, for the setting of the Dareios scene.

⁴⁶ Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 35, claims that the tomb of Dareios was recent and could not be represented by an 'old building'. Konzeniewski, 552, uses the same argument without referring to Pickard-Cambridge. However, even if Dareios' death was recent, his tomb was built when he was alive, see Olmstead, 228-9, Bell, 208-9.

⁴⁷ So Taplin, 1977, 117, n.1. Konzenievski, 551-2, refers to the Mycenaean tombs but never to the ones which would be more important as an analogue, that is, the Persian ones.

⁴⁸ Bell, 203-5. For other similar buildings of unknown purpose (but possibly tombs) see Bell, 209-11, Schmidt, 41-49.

The tomb of Dareios is a rock-hewn tomb.⁴⁹ The tomb façade is about 22m in height and its middle register replicates the façade of Dareios' palace in Persepolis.⁵⁰ Since Dareios' tomb in Persia resembled his palace and the palace façade is the normal setting in Greek tragedy, it seems legitimate to argue that Dareios' tomb was identified with the *skene*-building. This suggestion should not seem surprising; since the existence of a *skene*-building has been argued above and it is not representing the palace, which is in narrative space, the *skene*-building may represent any building (στέγος means simply a building). The tomb is the most likely setting to be represented by it. The status of the *skene*-building in later plays as designating a building of distinction and prestige (namely the palace) is a useful collaboration of my view. An additional indication of such identification is that ll.647-8 (φίλος ἀνὴρ, φίλος ὄχθος | φίλα γὰρ κέκευθε ἦθη) with the repetition of φίλος, recall the inscription on Dareios' tomb, if Herzfeld's conjecture is accepted.⁵¹ According to Strabo, 15.730.8, the inscription read: 'he was loved by those who loved him'.⁵² A close examination of the inscriptions on Dareios' tomb shows that Strabo seems to provide a summary of the inscriptions and not an accurate translation. He is, however, a valuable source of evidence for the impact that the Persian monuments had on Greek writers in late antiquity. An additional piece of evidence may be found in l.24 (βασιλῆς βασιλέως ὑποχοι μεγάλου) which seems to reflect the title of Dareios preserved on the Behistun inscription.⁵³

The question immediately raised is how the Greeks and Aiskhylos in particular could possibly know about the tombs and the royal buildings of Persia in the fifth century. Contact between Asian and Greek worlds seems to have been difficult in this period. There were, however, many spheres of interaction

⁴⁹ Polacco, 1984, 86, n.35, suggests that 'la tomba di Dario era con ogni probabilità rappresentata come una torre'. For a tower-like tomb possibly of Hystaspes, see Bell, 209-11. Di Benedetto, 81, n.32, rejects Polacco's suggestion because it contrasts with the use of the ὄχθος. I do not believe that this word is incompatible with a building and especially a royal tomb on a rock.

⁵⁰ Schmidt, 80-90 (for a contrast between the tomb and the real palace see p.81), Bell, 205-7.

⁵¹ For the location of the inscriptions see Schmidt, 81-4. The inscription I refer to is DN b for which see Kent, 1953, 138-40. The interpretation of l.38 is disputable. Kent, 1939, 172, follows Herzfeld's conjecture, 293-6, that ἀρὺαθα means 'freundschaft'. But Kent, 1945, 50-2, follows Bartholomae, col. 800 and prefers the meaning 'activity, action'.

⁵² Broadhead, on ll.647-51, Belloni, on ll.647-51 and Hall, 1996, on ll.647-8, accept the correlation of this line with the inscription as attested in Strabo, but without making explicit to which inscription they refer.

⁵³ For a translation of the inscription see Kent, 1953, 119, DB I ll.1-2. For the correlation between the Behistun inscription and the line used here see Hall, 1996 on l.24 (Db 140, 8h).

between these two cultures even before the Persian wars.⁵⁴ The wars in particular brought the two cultures face to face and many Athenian spectators had fought in them and had had personal experience of the Persians.⁵⁵ Much earlier than the wars the co-operation of Greek workers in the Persian royal buildings is attested. In Susa Ionian workers had participated in the building of the palace, as the inscription DSf indicates.⁵⁶ The monumental Persian buildings were so impressive that they must have attracted the curiosity of the Greek travellers, traders and researchers, while Greeks had lived in the royal palace (the story of the doctor Demokedes in *Hdt.Hist.3.125-37* is an interesting piece of such evidence). Information about the major palace-cities (Pasargadai, Persepolis, Susa) must have been of interest to the Greeks and therefore it seems legitimate to argue that they had some, if not thorough, knowledge of the majestic building production there.⁵⁷ Even if Aiskhylos had never seen them himself, he or his source must have had adequate knowledge of the buildings and the royal tombs which were the main means of propaganda of the Persian dynasty, especially since the tombs were regarded as the dwelling of the dead kings who enjoyed god-like status and from whom the living king derived his power and legal right to rule over Persia.⁵⁸

Some scholars have tried to apply Persian archaeological evidence to the staging of the play but in mistaken attempts to find an exact parallel between the dramatic location and the real topography of Persepolis and the tombs, which are far from the palace. They even argue that Aiskhylos, by setting the tomb at Susa and not at Persepolis, in whose suburbs it actually is, is in error, possibly because

⁵⁴ See Miller, 3-5, Harrison, 2002, 10.

⁵⁵ Hall, 1996, 4, says that 'by the time of the production of Aeschylus' *Persians*- the poet and his audience had a quarter of a century been in fear of or actively engaged in war with the eastern empire'. See also Miller, 5-10, Hall, 1996, 4-5 (for celebrations through drama of the Persian wars).

⁵⁶ See Kent, 1953, 144, DSf ll.30-35, 40-49 (the Ionians brought the cedar timber to Babylon....the ornamentation with which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia was brought....the stone-cutters who wrought the stone were Ionians..). See also Hanfmann-Waldbaum, 317. Cf. Pedersen, 113, for the assistance of Greek masons in Tall-i-Tacht (in the second half of the sixth century according to Nylander, 77-81 and accepted by Pedersen). For features and techniques of Greek Ionic architecture in the tomb of Kyros and other Persian tombs see Boardman, 57-60.

⁵⁷ Konzenievski, 550, also argues this.

⁵⁸ For Aiskhylos' sources see Hall, 1996, 14-15. Cf. Hall, 1989, 75-6. For the effect of Persian architecture on the subjects of the empire see Bell, 234-5. An interesting parallel is the Mausolleia of the fourth century BC and especially the Mausolleion in Halikarnassos. For an association between the two see Pedersen, 112-4.

he did not have better knowledge of it.⁵⁹ To try to explain the possible position of the tomb in the performance space in terms of actual topography seems to me a negation of Aiskhylos' poetic licence and an entirely unnecessary restriction of performance to realism.⁶⁰ It also fails to take into account the conditions of the performance space available to the dramatist, which would definitely require adjustment of the real topography to the restricted resources of the theatre of Dionysos.

Moreover, it is appropriate to the play's thematic emphases for the *skene*-building to become the symbol of Dareios and Persia's glorious past. Dareios represents the peak of the Persian empire's achievement which is now swept away (642 μεγαυχῇ δαίμονα, 709 ὑπερσχὼν βροτῶν πάντων, 750). The place which represents his tomb should symbolise the great power and the grandeur of Persia in former times.⁶¹ It should be a visually impressive structure dominating the performance space, around which the audience could see the ruins of the present being enacted.⁶² In my opinion this strongly suggests the *skene*-building, since no other structure was able to provide so strong and central a visual focus for the whole auditorium.⁶³

This issue has been overlooked by scholars who have suggested other parts of the performance space for Dareios' appearance. The only undoubted fact is that the tomb was visible to the audience. This apart, there are numerous opinions as to its location and to review them succinctly is a difficult task. Briefly, there seem to be three main views, each with their sub-divisions and variation. Some scholars suggest that there was a *skene*-building which is identified with the στέγος (as a council-chamber for the chorus or a palace) and the tomb is in front or at the edge of it.⁶⁴ Others take the view that the tomb is a mound (some believing that there were underground stairs from where Dareios enters), or is identified with a rock or an altar, in most cases without a *skene*-

⁵⁹ Konzeniewski, 550-1. See also Harmon, 7-8. On the Persian geography see Bernand, 64-68.

⁶⁰ See also Broadhead, xliii, n.1 with Srebrny's, 17, opinion that definiteness and precision of topographical details were not expected by the audience. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 36.

⁶¹ Dareios' royal regalia (tiara-shoes in ll.660-1) reinforce the assumption that his appearance should have been majestic.

⁶² See also Dale, 261.

⁶³ Rosenmeyer, 57, makes the same point against Hammond's assumption that a rock was at the side of the *orkhestra* for the early Aiskhylean plays, see n.65 below.

⁶⁴ Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 35-6 (council-chamber); Konzeniewski, 548-53 and Bees, 1995, 86-92 (palace). Arnott, 1962, 57, is mistaken to include Pickard-Cambridge (36) in the scholars who claim that the *stegos* is the palace.

building.⁶⁵ Another group of views is based on the assumption that the tomb functions also as a meeting place for the council.⁶⁶ This leads to the suggestion of one specified setting for the whole play, such as the gates of the city.⁶⁷ Finally there are those who accept a change of scene or focus with or without a *skene*-building and those who assume the use of scenery.⁶⁸ I would suggest that the foreign setting of the play, because of its peculiarity, was possibly indicated by some kind of decoration but not as an indication of a change of scene.

Closely connected to the above views are ll.140-1, the earliest reference to a building in which the chorus refer to themselves as τὸδ' ἐνεζόμενοι στέγος ἀρχαῖον. The staging of these lines and, in particular, the significance of the participial prefix ἐν, have caused much dispute. Taplin, who argues against a *skene*-building, assumes that 'the audience would imagine, if asked, that the scene played before them in the open air was in fact set indoors'.⁶⁹ The line is thus translated as 'being seated *inside* this building (council-chamber)'.⁷⁰ This assumption is reinforced by the hypothesis of *Persai* which implies that Phrynikhos' *Phoinissai* opened with an eunuch preparing seats for the magistrates of the realm.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Wiles, 1997, 79 and Sommerstein, 1996, 38, 86-7 (*thymele*); Murray, 1940, 55 (*thymele* and *skene*-building); Hammond, 1972, 423-8 and Melchinger, 90-3 (rock), Bieber, 1961, 57 and Scullion, 70, n.9 (Dareios appears from a ladder or steps against the outside of the terrace wall of the *orkhestra*- to a mount according to the latter); Sommerstein, 1996, 40, cf. Taplin, 1977, 447-8 (underground stairs). The point which Broadhead, xlv, and Arnott, 1962, 58-9, make, namely that the tomb should be represented by an element which can be ignored by the audience until required is inappropriate. They say that this element should be small or marginal (according to Broadhead, xlv, it could 'be readily neglected'... 'it would be in some comparatively inconspicuous spot, so that it would not distract the audience's attention when the action was elsewhere'; see also Broadhead, xlv, n.1, for the strange suggestion that this spot could be a side-wall of the stage). An inconspicuous position of the tomb proposes an entry which is not marked by the audience and Dareios' entry is definitely not of this kind.

⁶⁶ Hall, 1996, on ll.140-1, proposes the double function of the building as tomb and council-chamber.

⁶⁷ Harmon, 14-9.

⁶⁸ Dale, 119-20, believes that there is a refocusing with a *skene*-building and thus the council-chamber where the chorus meets becomes Dareios' tomb. Taplin, 1977, 104, suggests the same but without a *skene*-building. Taplin, 1977, 116-7, suggests that 'Darius *may* have simply walked on up an *eisodos*' but prefers a vertical entry if Aiskhylos could device a way for it. One of my main objections to the absence of the *skene*-building as Dareios' tomb is that the actor who impersonates him becomes conspicuous, as he enters the performance area, and thus the element of surprise is lost. Webster, 1956, 8, 165-6, accepts a *skene*-building and suggests that the ghost appeared on the roof or through a practicable door half-masked by a screen. Webster, 1960, 499-500, however, revises this view and argues, implausibly in my view, that Dareios' tomb was introduced by a raised structure on the front of the *ekkyklema*.

⁶⁹ Taplin, 1972, 67. See also Taplin, 1977, 65, 454.

⁷⁰ See also Dale, 119; for the chorus sitting in a building see Hammond, 1972, 426.

⁷¹ See also Hall, 1996, on ll.140-1. For visible chairs see Sommerstein, 1996, 35, West, 1990b, 12-3 and against this view Di Benedetto, 81, n. 32. For sitting on stage see Taplin, 1977, 63, n.2 and 65. For the parallel between Phrynikhos' play and *Persai* see Taplin, 63, Hammond, 1972,

The archaeological material mentioned above may be useful in the perception of this scene. I previously discussed the tomb of Kyros (fig.3), a rectangular building graduated in stages. These stages can easily be perceived as steps. I argued above that Aiskhylos had at least a rough knowledge of the tombs and Kyros' tomb could have provided an interesting spatial parallel to the conditions of performance space available to Aiskhylos. The *skene*-building was rectangular, probably with a few steps leading to the *orkhestra*. Thus, during these lines the chorus might be moving towards the *skene*-building and be ready to take a seat on the steps. Hall offers the right translation in my opinion. The leader motivates the chorus to sit saying 'but come, Persians, let us sit down on this ancient building....'.⁷² As the chorus moves towards the *skene*-building, Atossa enters and the action is cancelled, ἀλλά marking the shift to new issues.⁷³ The combination of this word with the deictic ἦδε and the vivid verb ὀρμᾶται indicate the turning of focus on her, and thus a re-arrangement of space. The lines function as an exhortation, in my opinion, and not as a statement.⁷⁴

The most significant point is not, therefore, the actual movements of the chorus, which cannot be safely reconstructed, but the fact that whatever position the chorus is ready to take is cancelled because of Atossa's grand entry which would surely have drawn the audience's attention towards the Queen and away from the chorus. The Queen is still so prestigious and great that the chorus

426. However, it is not certain how the former was staged. Garvie, 1986, xlvii, n.110, remains sceptical. Cf. Arnott, 1962, 70. Dale, 262, suggests that Phrynikhos has used extras who could remain seated in contrast to a chorus, who, I would add, dances and moves a lot especially in Aiskhylos' plays.

⁷² Hall, 1996, 45 of the translation. Hall, 1996, on ll.140-1, says that the participle means 'sitting in' or 'sitting on' (a funeral mound? Steps up to a council chamber?). See also Dale, 262, Di Benedetto, 85, n.39. Taplin, 1977, 454, n.2, answers this by suggesting that the indoor-outdoor distinction is 'fluid', as with the *ekkyklema*. However, the *ekkyklema* makes the interior visible to the exterior but projects from a building to the exterior space and the first chariot entry of Atossa clearly signifies the space as 'outside'. Almost the same is argued in Bees, 1995, 85. See also Di Benedetto's objections, 84-86, and Belloni's on ll.140-1. For the chorus remaining outside see also Walton, 1984, 47. For the chorus sitting on steps see Dale, 119. Taplin, 1977, 454, considers this 'incomprehensible', commenting that if there was a *skene*, 'it would be merely confusing if the chorus are thought of as inside a building when they are obviously just outside'. The problem arises because of Taplin's premise that the chorus is inside, of which there is no clear textual indication.

⁷³ This is the best reply to Taplin, 1977, 454, n.2, who refers to Tucker's translation, which is the same as Hall's but rejects it because the chorus' intention is not fulfilled and the *skene* is never used. See also Di Benedetto, 85-6. West, 1990b, 11, mentions this scene as an example of a 'nesting chorus'. He explains, 12, that presumably the chorus moves on the far side of the *orkhestra*. He relates, 13, this to the lack of a *skene*-building. However, Bees, 1995, 86, rightly wonders why the chorus cannot gather in front of the *skene*-building.

⁷⁴ See also Sommerstein, 1996, 35, Scullion, 68.

abandons its plan and focuses on her, instructing- in its normal role, as an audience within the play and a mediator between the play and the spectators- the audience to do so, as well.⁷⁵

The *skene*-building has so far been discussed as one of the physical components of the performance space. The three axes- vertical, horizontal and transverse- which pass through it are semantically significant and offer an indication of the ways in which dynamic handling of space is facilitated by the existence of a *skene*-building.⁷⁶

Dareios dominates the vertical axis. The lowest point of the vertical axis, the Underworld, is the narrative location from where Dareios comes (in l.630, the chorus asks the gods of the Underworld to send up Dareios' soul from below πέμψατ' ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς, cf. 697 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κάτωθεν ἦλθον).⁷⁷ Dareios exits there as well at the end of the scene.⁷⁸ For Dareios' impressive entry which the text seems to require I suggest that the roof of the *skene*-building was used. The chorus' words in l.659 (ἔλθε ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου) reinforce the use of the highest point. There are also other indications of a movement 'up' (644, 649, 660).⁷⁹

An apparent advantage in Dareios' entrance from the roof is the visual reinforcement of his divine nature, which the text indicates (634 ἰσοδαίμων, 643 Περσῶν Σουσιγενῇ θεόν, 654 θεομήτωρ, 711).⁸⁰ Dareios is therefore presented as a god and his appearance from the roof stresses this, since in later tragedies at least the roof is normally reserved for the gods.⁸¹ The performance reinforces the text. Dareios in this play comes as the mouthpiece of divine justice, whose effect on the arrogant young Xerxes will be visually indicated by the latter's pitiful appearance immediately after this episode (Ζεὺς τοι

⁷⁵ See Walton, 1984, 81, for the chorus as intermediaries in *Persai*.

⁷⁶ See also chapter 1, pp.22-5.

⁷⁷ For the meaning of the Underworld see p.112 above.

⁷⁸ This is the common view and I think that it is clear since the adverb κάτω (839) is used before for his appearance and thus he should return to the same place. He says goodbye to the elders (840). He also declares from the beginning that he has come only for a short time (698). However, Anderson, 174, says that Dareios stays until the end of the play and that 'the symbolism of Atossa's dream is turned to visible reality on the stage'.

⁷⁹ The roof entry is accepted by Dale, 261; see also Bees, 1995, 89-91. However Taplin, 1977, 116, who does not accept the existence of a *skene*-building says that 'the 'dramatic picture' need not necessarily have been reflected in the staging'. I disagree with Di Benedetto, 71, n.15, that the tomb is on the same level as the *orkhestra* and the actor comes from outside the terrace wall.

⁸⁰ Dareios, however, never calls himself a god. He merely presents himself as having some authority among the nether gods (691). See Hall, 1989, 91-3.

⁸¹ See Chapter 3, pp.81-2.

κολαστῆς τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν| φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὐθυνοσ βαρύς.|
 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνον σωφρονεῖν κεχρημένοι| πινύσκειτ' εὐλόγοισι
 νοθετήμασιν| λῆξαι θεοβλαβοῦνθ' ὑπερκόμπῳ θράσει, ll.827-31).⁸²

The elevated position of Dareios, the representative of the ideology of the past also indicates, on a semantic level, the superiority of old heroic values (κάπεστράτευσα πολλὰ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ,| ἀλλ' οὐ κακὸν τοσόνδε
 προσέβαλον πόλει.| Ξέρξης δ' ἐμὸς παῖς νέος ἔων νέα φρονεῖ,| κοῦ
 μνημονεύει τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιστολάς, ll.780-3). Dareios as the symbol of the past recalls all the previous kings and the history of Persia (763-786). In this account he functions as a kind of Messenger, but one unlike the messenger who appeared earlier in this play and narrated events which happened recently. Dareios offers an account of the distant past moving towards the present.⁸³ So, when Xerxes appears, the audience can contrast him not only with the visible Dareios but also with a long sequence of kings who were as good as Dareios; particularly striking is the contrast between ll.762, 772, which mark the gods' favour on Kings, and l.782 with δὲ introducing the opposition between what was said before and this section (Xerxes).⁸⁴ This gives to Dareios a much more impressive presence, since he symbolises all those years of successful rulers. Dareios managed to retain the heritage he received and expand it successfully in contrast to Xerxes' failure, which is now even more marked.

The handling of time also contributes to the favourable impression of Dareios. Even though brevity is stressed from the beginning of the speech giving this scene a quicker pace (692, 698), Dareios then relates long reports of the past and the future as a normal messenger and without the motivation that the previous Messenger gets from Atossa. In terms of the external time of the audience, these events belong to the past and are thus confirmed but Aiskhylos presents them in the dramatic future making Dareios' status more dominating dramatically. Narrative time expands far back in order to make the contrast with the present more striking to the audience. Dareios then predictively extends his wisdom to encompass the future (800-26); his elevated position signifies his

⁸² Hammond, 1988, 33, remarks this purpose of the Dareios' scene. Also of interest is that Dareios' prediction gives as the reason for punishment of the troops their behaviour against the images of gods and the temples (807-815). It is noticeable, however, that Atossa presents as the reason for the expedition not Xerxes' arrogance but the wish to punish the Greeks for Dareios' defeat in Marathon, ἀντίποινα (473, 475-6).

⁸³ See also de Romilly, 73-4.

wider perception and vision of the events to come.⁸⁵ His divine character is thus reinforced and the predicted events are assured of accomplishment. Dareios, therefore, unifies past and future in contrast to a present personified by the ruined Xerxes, who has lost the divine characteristics which were taken for granted before (e.g. θεός, 80).⁸⁶ The contrast between the previous kings including Dareios whose divinity is confirmed and Xerxes who will appear as a common human being like his subjects, is striking. The implied basis of this divinity is the success of the Persian army (157-8). His divine features are replaced by his true nature; he is a mortal (θνητὸς ὦν θεῶν τε πάντων ᾤετ', οὐκ εὐβουλία,| καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσειν, ll.749-50). Thus, Xerxes' failure deprives him of his divine self and of any superiority, because his arrogance distanced him from the gods and led to his punishment (282-3, 361, 514-5, 856).

All these indications based on the text lead to the conclusion that Dareios may have appeared on the roof. The middle level, which becomes important in later tragedy, that of the ground level and the central door of the building, appears not to have been used here. If one examines the evidence of Persian tombs, their doors are also not wide enough for a majestic entry from there and in Dareios' tomb inaccessible because they are higher than the ground level.⁸⁷ In addition, if Dareios appeared from a door the spectacular element of his entry is lost. He would have entered from the way used for corpses, while he is a spirit. Since he was in the Underworld, it seems likely that even if the door could have been activated, it is not because this entry is exceptional and he does not appear as a common human being.⁸⁸ This should not seem peculiar because Aiskhylos as a dramatist may have been familiar with the use of the roof, and even the *mekhane* seems to have been brought in for plays like the *Psykhostasia*. Having exhibited plays for more than twenty years before 472 BC it would not have been strange to conceive the use of the roof for Dareios' powerful entry as appropriate to his high status.

⁸⁴ Cf. 548-57. See also Podlecki, on ll.765-80.

⁸⁵ See de Romilly, 73-4. Note l.526 where Atossa also shows concern for the future. For the future through the past see also Taplin, 1977, 83.

⁸⁶ Ireland, 15, also remarks that Dareios is not just a foil for Xerxes (for this see Alexanderson, 2) but 'the means by which the present state is seen within the context of past and future action'.

⁸⁷ According to Bell, 207, only the lowest of the four panels of the door formed the entrance into the chamber. Bell, 204, reports that the tomb of Kyros also has a very narrow entrance at one end.

Concerning the relationship between the vertical axis and the *eisodoi*, the difference between Dareios' and Xerxes' policies is spatially expressed by the confinement to and transgression beyond Asia respectively. Dareios' space in the play is the immobile tomb, a visual indication of his political stability in contrast to Xerxes who moves through the *eisodos*. Xerxes' exit with his enormous army at the beginning of the expedition (for example, 40-2, 53), through the *eisodos* which the Messenger and Xerxes use for their return, symbolises the transgression of the boundaries (spatial and on a metaphorical level, human) which the new, that is, Xerxes, should have respected.⁸⁹ The contrast lies between the moderate policy of Dareios in the past (ὅσας δ' εἶλε πόλεις πόρον οὐ διαβὰς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῖο, οὐδ' ἀφ' ἐστίας συθείς, 865-6) and Xerxes' youthful audacity (743 νέῳ θράσει) which brought pain to the whole of Persia (781) (cf. his confidence in the chorus' words in ll.110-114).

The tomb, in particular, is the point of conjunction of the vertical and horizontal axes but it is not used actively, since Xerxes and Dareios never meet on stage, despite the expectation created by Atossa's dream in ll.197-200. The tomb remains the symbol of Dareios and the glorious past when Xerxes enters, providing thus an impressive background which visually intensifies the national defeat which Xerxes and the chorus lament.⁹⁰

It is of interest that the activation of the *skene*-building for Dareios' entry and especially the roof does not only activate the vertical axis but also offers an expansion in terms of depth. The transverse and vertical axes open at the same time and a figure appears further back than the *orkhestra* where all the other characters are located, the importance of his entry enhanced by the simultaneous and carefully prepared heightening and deepening of dramatic and performance space.

Even though there is a deepening, *Persai* makes no use of the interior and displays no interest in what lies behind the *skene*-façade. This may be partly explained by the evolution in the *skene*-building suggested above and partly by

⁸⁸ It is difficult to say from where Klytaimnestra appears in *Eumenides*. Two points which should be taken into account are that there is no invocation there and Klytaimnestra is neglected in the Underworld. Her status thus differs from that of Dareios.

⁸⁹ Yet one of the reasons for the expedition to Greece is, according to Atossa, the accusation against Xerxes that he was always in the palace (754-8).

⁹⁰ See Scullion, 70-1. Taplin, 1977, 106, says that the tomb goes out of focus after Dareios' exit. I believe that when Xerxes enters, the tomb remains at the background as an impressive symbol of

its identification as a tomb, which precludes the possibility of significant, or perhaps any, interior dramatic action of the kind found later in *Ag.* and *Kho.*⁹¹ The only distinction which may be detected in *Persai* as an indication of an early interest in a separation between interior and exterior space is that between *orkhestra*, Xerxes' space and the *skene*-building, that is, Dareios' space. The representatives of past and present remain confined in their own territories and do not transcend their boundaries: the *skene*-building is activated only in Dareios' scene, while the rest of the play is constructed around Xerxes' entry from narrative space to the *orkhestra*. In other words, visible dramatic and performance space is in *Persai* only reactive to narrative space.

In later tragedies, the domestic space is represented by the interior of the *skene*-building. However, because of the removal of the palace to narrative space and the dramatic identification of the *skene*-building with a tomb, a sharply defined separation between public space (outside) and private space (inside) cannot be drawn in *Persai*. The Queen is the only character who refers to events associated with the palace as a domestic area but viewing her as a 'domestic' figure is misleading because of her status as a member of the royal *oikos*, which is inevitably bound with political authority.⁹² Her role in the scene with Dareios shows the ambivalence of the space she is associated with.

During the invocation, Atossa distances herself from it by assigning the anacletic hymn to the chorus. Her silence may function as a sign of lack of participation but her last lines imply that she may not remain inactive during the song (621-2).⁹³ Atossa represents the palace in its domestic dimension as Dareios' wife but does not separate herself from the chorus' public space. When Xerxes becomes the central subject of the discussion, Atossa receives attention as his mother (703ff). Xerxes' arrogance and impious behaviour can be presented in full detail by his parents who are alone entitled to talk about this issue.⁹⁴ The

the past but the focus turns on the present loss and the activation of the tomb would distract the audience attention from the lamentation.

⁹¹ For the *skene*-building see p.113 above.

⁹² See Harrison, 2000, 76-81, who remarks that 'in monarchies the personal is political'.

⁹³ It is not possible to reconstruct her exact movements during the invocation. Dareios simply mentions that she is close to the tomb (684-5). Taplin, 1977, 113, explains the lack of attention on Atossa because of the need to set the focus on Dareios. Based on relative positions Broadhead, on 681f, explains Dareios' address to the chorus in l.681 with the over-realistic speculation that 'as soon as Dareios appeared at the top of the tomb, he would catch sight of the chorus first, since the Queen was closer to the tomb and would not be seen until he dropped his eyes in her direction.' Hammond, 1972, 428, accepts this; see Taplin's criticism, 1977, 116, n.1.

⁹⁴ Ireland, 15, argues that Dareios is the only figure capable of criticising Xerxes.

private space of the palace recalled as the discussion focuses on their son is not political in the same way as the chorus' references to Xerxes but an ambivalence between private and public space is retained, since despite the silence of the chorus the conversation between Atossa and Dareios is characterised by a clearly civic tone (787ff). Thus Atossa combines the private concerns of an individual associated with domestic space and those of a Queen who represents public space.

After this discussion the attention shifts to civic issues again. The change of metre in l.759 also functions as an indication of a shift of focus to a new section. Dareios' monologue (759-86) is in iambic trimeters pointing forward to the resumption of his exchange with the chorus which was broken off after his first iambic utterance (681-93). The chorus through its *koryphaios* reoccupies its space turning the focus on the common well-being of the Persian people (789 πῶς ἂν ἐκ τούτων ἔτι πράσσοιμεν ὥς ἄριστα Περσικὸς λεώς;).⁹⁵ The use of the first person plural as if the chorus represents all the Persian people is noticeable. Even though the chorus respects Dareios (a reflection of fear towards the King, which is a characteristic feature of monarchy, is evident in l.696) it criticises Xerxes in the *kommos* (918-30). The disapproval of his actions transcends the palace represented by Atossa and extends to the public space of the city and the remaining citizens, represented by the chorus. Therefore, the activation of the spaces associated with Atossa or the chorus in the conversation with Dareios leads to semantic shifts in visible dramatic space.

Dareios' conversation with the chorus and Atossa also brings into the foreground both near and far narrative spaces and offers an interesting example of the dynamic handling of the spatial categories in this play. The near narrative space of the city receives attention with Dareios' introductory words. The deictic in the phrase τόδ' ἄστυ, as viewed by him (761) creates the notion of a continuity between visible dramatic space and the adjacent city. Dareios' elevated position possibly justifies this wider view.⁹⁶ Despite its lack of accurate placement in the Persian topography and especially its spatial relation to the visible dramatic

⁹⁵ It should be clarified here that the chorus as a group of singers is deactivated at the end of Dareios' invocation. It is, however, represented by the *koryphaios*, its leader, who participates in the discussion. When he also becomes silent, the chorus is completely excluded from the dialogue between the actors.

⁹⁶ The city seems to be closer to the visible dramatic space than the palace (761, 1069-72). See Hall, 1996, on ll.1069-72. The city is also mentioned in ll.535, 730.

space, the city becomes an extension of the tomb in this public space represented by Dareios and the chorus.

A more interesting interaction between narrative space (this time distant) and visible dramatic space occurs around the figure of Xerxes and his return home. The dynamic interweaving between narrative and dramatic spaces and the lack of lyric spaces is handled actively to set the focus on Xerxes' return from Athens to Persia and his attitude before his appearance. The Messenger (509-12) and the chorus (in the form of a rumour ὥς ἀκούομεν, 565) present the journey of Xerxes in his attempt to escape from Athens (558-67). The topographical detail of the Greek locations in his journey- an area familiar to Aiskhylos and the audience- in ll.302-30, 353-432, 485-95 makes the description realistic. This detailed description is significant especially in the prediction of the Persian army's future in Plataia (805-26). The use of present tenses (799, 804-5) is also noticeable bringing a convergence of narrative and performance time, enactment in narrative space (the army is waiting in northern Greece) and narrative in visible dramatic space (through Dareios' speech, 800-42).

The focus on Xerxes' return is reinforced by the conspicuous lack of lyric spaces. The chorus recalls only spaces from the particular *mythos* of the play, namely places from Xerxes' homeward journey or areas of the Persian empire so that attention is concentrated on him and his failure. This lyric limitation of the chorus is also justified by its dramatic identity. The chorus consists of Persian elders who are the guardians of the King (2,4) and, thus, they are not the appropriate characters to recall Greek myths. Furthermore, the temporal proximity of the events presented in the play to the spectators' present may justify this exclusion of lyric spaces, since *Persai* is the only surviving tragedy which draws on a topic from the recent past.

When Atossa, acting as a second Messenger, informs Dareios that Xerxes reached the bridge between the two continents and therefore the Asian continent (736-7, with the use of deictic again), the journey details stop at this geographical point. Aiskhylos creates the expectation of imminent arrival of the main character, an expectation built even before Dareios' appearance (529). Xerxes' entry is, however, postponed so that Dareios can recall the glorious past

before he enters.⁹⁷ In contrast to the description of Greece, his progress through Asia is vague (as is the depiction of the Persian empire, a foreign place for the dramatist, 730-2).⁹⁸ When he finally appears, the previous grand report of the battle and defeat are embodied in the symbolic figure of Xerxes. The destruction of the Persian army, which was confined to narrative space, becomes available to the audience not only aurally but also visually through his clothes (468-70, 835-6, 1017-24).

The focus on Xerxes' failure recalls Athens (716, 824), which introduces a play between narrative space and performance space. Ingeniously, Aiskhylos sets the play in Asia and thus the physical relationship of Athens and Persia to the theatre of Dionysos is reversed in the play: Athens, which is the performance space, is presented as a narrative space far away, while Persia, the foreign location, is represented as adjacent to the audience in a Greek theatre. This affects both the construction of the dramatic space and the relationship between characters and audience. The double use of Athens as both narrative and performance space leads to a sustained oriental colouring of the visible dramatic space in order to make it convincingly Persian for the audience.⁹⁹ The audience sees the events through a Persian perspective but Athens as the performance space is always in front of their eyes.¹⁰⁰ The perception, however, of Athens by the characters who ignore even its location and equate it with the whole of Greece indicating its distance from Persia (231-5) contrasts with the familiarity of the spectators with it. Thus, the narrative space of Athens converges with the performance space in the perception of the audience only.

⁹⁷ Taplin, 1977, 126, remarks that Xerxes' arrival seems remote in ll.734-8. However, in the Dareios' scene he seems to be approaching since the Queen must get clothes for him. See also Taplin, 1977, 10, 83-4, for the focus on Xerxes' return. Taplin, 1977, 93-8, raised the issue of ll.529-31 which according to him are 'false preparation' for Xerxes' imminent arrival. He accepts the transposition of these lines after 851. Against this see Thalmann, 1980, 265-7, Di Benedetto, 86. There are also other references to Xerxes' return which indicate that Aiskhylos wants the audience to expect him. For example in ll.299, 470, 510 the present tense is used indicating that Xerxes is coming.

⁹⁸ For the Messenger's report and the journey home see Hall, 1996, on ll.480-514, Taplin, 1977, 125. For the compression of the journey see Podlecki, 16.

⁹⁹ The long lists of Persian names (21-55, 955, 1001), titles and reference to the Persian culture reinforce this colouring. See Podlecki, 3, who says that Aiskhylos 'has done much to create an un-Greek atmosphere, with his catalogues of Eastern-sounding names, his heaping up of details and images that suggest strangeness and even exoticism, opulent wealth, and a concern with luxurious living'.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, 1996, 6-7, says that 'one of the challenges this drama presents is the requirement to draw careful distinctions between those aspects of Aeschylus' portrait of the Persian court which are fascinating hints at the cultural translation of authentic Persian practices, and those which are fantastic productions of his Athenian perspective'.

Apart from the convergence of performance and narrative spaces in the audience's perception, there is a spatio-temporal opening to the audience's 'external space and time' in references to Athens as it was at the time the performance was taking place. Some scholars have associated the play with real political events around 472 BC and have discerned contemporary phrases in the text (e.g. at ll.285, 824).¹⁰¹ In addition, the presentation of Athenian beliefs within the dramatic frame is detected in the threat of the secession of the subject nations from the Persian empire after Xerxes' failure in Greece (213-4). Dareios considers civic strife, together with famine, as the most likely reasons for Persia's loss of men (715), while earlier in the play the chorus, who as *πιστά* are part of the political establishment and wary of political unrest in case of defeat (584-96), allude to this effect of the events in Greece on Persia.¹⁰² These threats may perhaps be interpreted as a reflection of the wishful thinking of Aiskhylos and his audience, who hoped for a destruction of the empire, especially under the ever-present fear of a new attack (790-7). There is no further reference to whether the subject nations separate from the Persian centre of authority and, at the end of the play, the Persian empire seems to remain intact.¹⁰³ What matters in the world of the play is to show that Xerxes' failure in Greece weakened the centre of authority immensely and was a serious blow to its prestige (906, 1024, 1035). The audience's contemporary experience is also recalled in the *stasimon* after Dareios' exit (852-907), as the chorus catalogues areas which they regard as Persian according to the play but were in reality Greek and, in some cases, allies of Athens in the Delian league by the time of the play's performance.¹⁰⁴ Categorization of such spaces is problematic. Presented in the allusive and distancing manner characteristic of lyric, they are nevertheless firmly rooted in the audience's experience and thus closely resemble the circumstantial topography of narrative space. As previously mentioned, *Persai* lacks the kind of

¹⁰¹ See Podlecki, 6-7, 9, Hall, 1996, 12, Sommerstein, 1996, 415.

¹⁰² *Οὐκέτι* (586-7) and the perfect and past tenses in 591-4 also indicate the fall of the fearsome monarchy and the threat of centrifugal movements towards freedom by the subject nations.

¹⁰³ Podlecki, 15-6, says that it is 'as if Xerxes' catastrophic mismanagement has led to the imminent collapse of the Persian empire (cf. 584-94, 714, 852ff, 904-5, 919-21). Yet in 472 the Persian empire had not dissolved or gone to pieces, as any number of the audience could attest who had fought in any of the recent and on-going battles against Persian outposts in the Hellespont, or near Byzantium, or on Cyprus. The historical Xerxes was to live until late in 465 BC, and all Aeschylus' hints of impending disaster and personal danger to the Persian monarch himself (529-31) must be seen for what they are: the dramatist's design of turning him into a quasi-mythical character'.

lyric landscapes frequently found in mythical tragedies. Whether the restriction applied generally to historical tragedy cannot be certain but it seems legitimate to suggest that events and places recalled by the chorus would have been linked to the dramatic present more directly and consistently than would usually be expected. Drawing a sharp distinction between lyric and narrative locations may thus be unhelpful in such cases and we should, perhaps, content ourselves with describing what we find here as 'lyricised narrative'.

Another kind of openness to the audience is based on the universality of the theme of Xerxes' failure. The fortunes of the Persian king can apply to any case of an absolute or arrogant leader who commits *hybris* (824-8). The events taking place in the play may not occur only in Persia but anywhere, including Greece, or Athens in particular. The theme of the play becomes universal.¹⁰⁵ This universality is reinforced by Dareios' generalised principles (840-2). These possibly function as an advice to the spectators as well, through their diachronic value, creating thus a line of contact within the transverse axis. Ll.852 ff indicate that the advice to be careful in the future and the contrast between old and new moves beyond the particulars of the play and acts as an implicit warning to the Athenian citizens watching the play that the victors can easily be defeated in the future if they are not cautious. This advice might have had an impact on the audience watching the play after Athens' triumph over Xerxes.¹⁰⁶

After Dareios' instruction to the chorus as Xerxes' advisors (829-31) the attention turns to the Queen again (832). She is presented as the only one who can calm Xerxes with kind words and the only one to whom he will listen (837-8). Her role as the mother is stressed again. The coda of this scene is the Queen's last words (845-51). This part is important in understanding the semantics of the last section of the play. According to Dareios she is the only supporter of Xerxes and thus is expected to bring the clothes and meet her son (834-8). In l.850 she also confirms this intention but uses the verb *πειράσομαι* (850).¹⁰⁷ Yet, despite this plan, she never reappears in visible dramatic space. I believe that the reason is that she is no longer required in the play. Her dramatic role is completed. The

¹⁰⁴ See Sommerstein, 1996, 94, Harrison, 2000, 64. See also Hall, 1996, on ll.852-907 for the 'poeticised cartographies'.

¹⁰⁵ Arnott, 1989, 136, Podlecki, 16. Against Arnott see Di Benedetto, 87, n.42. For the clothes as a 'reflection that all men subject to the same laws' see Thalmann, 1980, 281-2.

¹⁰⁶ See Sommerstein, 1996, 94.

¹⁰⁷ This implies an attempt to fulfil the plan and it is not a statement that she will definitely reappear. See also Alexanderson, 8.

focus from now on turns to public space, as Xerxes' entry stimulates the common lament with the chorus which deals with the national disaster of Persia after the death of so many noble and important citizens and leaders. The presence of the Queen would merely distract the audience from this dominant theme, since until now she has principally been a symbol of the palace as a domestic place;¹⁰⁸ the audience would expect the re-activation of a more intimate, private and supportive space for Xerxes if she entered in the last section of the play.¹⁰⁹ To do so would destroy the climactic ending of the play with its spectacular lament between the chorus and the character responsible for this loss, Xerxes himself, whose isolation and lack of any support and understanding by his citizens should be stressed.¹¹⁰ The character who was long awaited is finally present and the focus should stay only on him.¹¹¹

This explains the focus on the clothes at the end of Dareios' speech (834-36). Possibly the reason is not only the obsessiveness with 'sartorial display', as Hall argues, but a theatrical one.¹¹² Aiskhylos creates a strikingly subversive entry of a King (909). Instead of the glorious return of a victor, a role appropriate to a Great King and one expected at the beginning of his ambitious expedition, Xerxes returns humiliated. The audience's attention is drawn to a significant deviation from the normal royal appearance in tragedies (and especially Aiskhylos, cf. *Arist. Batr.* 1058-66), as Xerxes does not appear in royal dress but in rags as might be expected of an exile or a socially marginal figure.¹¹³ The

¹⁰⁸ See also Sommerstein, 1996, 92, n.13 for Atossa as a mother.

¹⁰⁹ See also Sommerstein, 1996, 95, Taplin, 1977, 120. Taplin, 1977, 121, rejects the technical reason that the same actor should play Xerxes and Atossa and thus Atossa cannot come on stage again, as Pickard-Cambridge, 1988, 138, Flickinger, 1936, 175, Anderson, 174, n.2, argued. For the transposition of ll.529-30 after l.851 see n.97 above.

¹¹⁰ Sommerstein, 1996, 95, makes the interesting remark that 'collective lamentation was traditionally the province of women'. In this aspect I believe that the Athenian audience would perceive the lament as another indication of the Persian effemination and lack of manliness, especially after the defeat. See also Kornarou, 18-9, 162.

¹¹¹ See also Taplin, 1977, 120. Scullion, 71, remarks that 'the new centre of interest is not a third feature of the scene but Xerxes himself'.

¹¹² Hall, 1996, on ll.846-8. Sommerstein, 1996, 92, says that Atossa is the representative of all the other Persian wives and mothers whom we do not see and that it was terrible disgrace for a Persian king to be seen in public in torn clothing. Cf. Podlecki, 7, Thalmann, 1980, 269-70.

¹¹³ For example, Philoktetes appears like this, see chapter 6, pp.183-4. See Taplin, 1977, 121-2. Most likely the costumes of both Dareios and Atossa were very impressive and luxurious reinforcing the contrast with Xerxes' appearance. See also Petrounias, 24, on this contrast. For the dispute about tragic characters in rags see Taplin, 1977, 36, Pickard-Cambridge, 1988, 202, n.14, Webster, 1956, 39. For Xerxes carrying the rags with him for display or Xerxes being redressed by his mother as the *kommos* proceeds see Arnott, 1989, 177. He concludes that Aiskhylos intended to remind the audience that in 472 BC the power of Persia was not yet considered to be dead and that the new costume implied that a new army might easily replace the one that had fallen.

attempt to create visual impact is clearly detectable here.¹¹⁴ Such an appearance must have been a shocking surprise for the audience and they had to be prepared for it. Thus, this focus on the clothes functions as an emphatic introduction to Xerxes' entry. His costume becomes the visual symbol of the current state of Persia (1017-1024).¹¹⁵ As Xerxes enters, he brings the spaces of the defeat with him becoming the enactment of the events in the narrative space of Greece. If Xerxes enters without attendants and followers (γυμνὸς προπομπῶν, 1036) the isolation also indicates visually Persia's deprivation of all its men, the fact that the nation no longer exists.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ See also p.111 above.

¹¹⁵ For clothes as the visual symbol of Persia see Sider, 189. See also Taplin, 1977, 121, Conacher, 1996, 28, n.50; Thalmann, 1980, 269-80.

¹¹⁶ Taplin, 1977, 123, suggests that Xerxes comes on foot and not on a chariot, as the common view is. Taplin, 1977, 84, says that Xerxes' entry stands for the catastrophe itself. Cf. Arnott, 1989, 176.

Chapter 5. *Hippolytos*

From *Hippolytos* I have selected ll.705-1466, namely the final section of the play. Phaidra's exit for her suicide and Hippolytos' tragedy (with Hippolytos' exclusion from his *oikos* and his miraculous accident on his way to exile) ending with the establishment of his cult after his death raise interesting issues in terms of the handling of the tragic space. The setting of *Hippolytos* is the palace of Theseus in Trozen.¹ The narrative space of Athens also receives particular attention since it is the region under common political authority (1161).² Athens is also emphatically depicted from the beginning of the play as the location where the background of the story (Phaidra's love for Hippolytos) takes place (24-35). The other significant narrative spaces are the meadow and the place of Hippolytos' accident. From the beginning of the play until l.705, and especially after Phaidra's entry (176), the dynamics of dramatic space are constructed around the palace of Theseus, represented by the *skene*-building, and the two adjacent statues of Artemis and Aphrodite.

The handling of the proxemic space between Phaidra and the Nurse who remain behind after Hippolytos' outraged departure at the revelation of Phaidra's love reflects the separation between them. First ignored by Phaidra who, in addressing her anguished questions to her friends in the chorus (669-79) establishes an emotional and spatial bond with them, at her expense, the Nurse is then denounced (682-94) after the choral distich (680-1) redirecting attention to her failure. The Nurse seems to concede the distance between herself and Phaidra in her use of δέσποινα (695), perhaps to be read as an attempt to re-establish contact and her threatened influence on Phaidra with a display of submissiveness.³ She then addresses Phaidra with a term of affection (τέκνον, 705- conversationally placed at the end of the line) which reintroduces a sense of

¹ For the setting of *Hippolytos* I in Athens and the innovation of the second *Hippolytos* (Trozen) see Barrett, 11, followed, among others, by Dunn, 1992, 107, who argues for an Athenian aetiological end for *Hipp.I*. By contrast, Halleran, 1995, 26, suggests that the first *Hippolytos* was also set in Trozen.

² Pittas-Herschbach, 138, remarks that Hippolytos is presented as the son of the Athenian Theseus rather than as the grandson of Trozenian Pittheus. She explains, 139, the absence of Pittheus from the play as a means of undermining the spatial validity of Trozen. See also Barrett, 33-4, and on ll.795-6. For the merging of Trozen and Athens especially as the play reaches towards its end see pp.160-3 below.

³ The first entry of Phaidra in which the Nurse was close to her would possibly imply the latter's dominance on the former and may correspond here in a movement by the Nurse closer to Phaidra again.

the proxemic intimacy, characteristic of the relationship between a child and its mother-figure and already visible in the manner of their first entry (176). Phaidra, however, as in the scene with the chorus before (565), commands the Nurse to remain silent (706) and even dismisses her (708-9). L.708 is her clear instruction to exit presumably by an *eisodos*, as the phrase 'ἐκποδὼν ἄπελθε' is not merely an instruction to go inside the palace.⁴ The emphatic language indicates that the Nurse is walking out of the *oikos*, as if she were walking out of the world of the play. The following *σαυτῆς πέρι φρόντιζε' ἐγὼ δέ..* implies an emphatic disjunction in their relationship. This ejection of the Nurse may also forebode that of Hippolytos later on (1085-9).⁵

The Nurse exits without a word, since she does not have further part in the play's subsequent development. Her silence and exit function as a means of bringing the focus of the audience's attention on Phaidra who remains in the interior without any supporters. Had the Nurse stayed in visible dramatic space, her presence would have distracted the audience's attention from the emphatic shift to the chorus as Phaidra's accomplices from l.710 onwards.⁶ With this dramatic activation of the chorus, the *orkhestra* and the stage interact.⁷ The audience would expect that the chorus will play an active part for the rest of the play but Phaidra asks the women to remain silent, that is, not to participate in the action. This play with the activation of the *orkhestra* is justified by the need for emphasis on a significant event leading to Hippolytos' tragedy: the chorus swears an oath (713-4) which recalls that of Hippolytos earlier (611-12). Now, because of the oath sworn to his goddess-protector, the chorus will remain silent and thus play an important role in Hippolytos' conviction later.⁸

⁴ Ley-Ewans, 77, explain the Nurse's exit by a side exit based on the reconstruction of the movements and relative positions of the actors which, however, can only be speculative. See chapter 3, p.76, n.63 above.

⁵ Even though she most likely exits through the opposite *eisodos* from the one used by Hippolytos. See also Ley-Ewans, 77. For the discussion of the horizontal axis see pp.141-2 below.

⁶ Unlike the Nurse, the women of the chorus are capable of silent complicity (712). It is striking that Phaidra addresses the chorus with their 'civic' identity (ὅμεις δέ, παῖδες εὐγενεῖς Τροζήνιαι) without any appeal to the bond of womanhood, which was used in l.406. This looks like a formal announcement. Phaidra is confident of the discretion of the noble Trozenian women in contrast to the Nurse's betrayal. The contrast with l.565 is interesting, since this is a clear question of complicity. For the choruses sworn in silence see chapter 3, p.76, n.64.

⁷ Phaidra is most likely on the stage, since she overheard Hippolytos and the Nurse from the interior (565-600). For Phaidra as the reporter of events in the interior which take place simultaneously with the report see the discussion in chapter 3, p.93 above.

⁸ Barrett, on l.713, says that 'the whole Chorus may make a ritual gesture towards Artemis' statue'. For statues of the goddesses see Barrett, 154. For Aphrodite's statue see ll.101, 114-20,

The central event in this scene, however, is Phaidra's exit into the palace and this is where the focus of the audience's eyes is expected to be.⁹ Her significant exit into it means that Phaidra's life- and this part of the play- is over. The doors close behind her.¹⁰

The reference to the Cretan palace in l.719 brings into the foreground a significant invisible location. Its connotations have already been introduced in ll.336-44, where Crete is related to Phaidra's genealogy.¹¹ Thus, past (the narrative time of her mother's incestuous union with the bull) and present (dramatic time of the play, where Phaidra's love for her stepson is revealed), narrative events and visible ones are unified. Mention of the Cretan palace as a reason for Phaidra's suicide also introduces the forthcoming lyric account in which it is the central location in the second *strophe* of the following *stasimon*. In ll.719-21 Phaidra connects her Cretan upbringing with her unwillingness to appear before Theseus after shaming their marriage. In ll.752-63, the chorus similarly contrasts her Cretan origin and her (gratifying) marriage which ended in a negation of her status as Theseus' bride (κακονυμφοτάταν) reiterating thus the elliptical contrast made in ll.719-21 between her happy departure from Crete on a journey to a marriage which ended most unhappily.¹²

Before Phaidra exits for the last time, her death is considered certain by the audience (723, 726-7, 729).¹³ Significant action is expected to take place in the interior during the *stasimon*. This is reinforced by the imminence of l.726 τῆδ' ἐν

522-4. For the symbolic meaning of the two statues in relation to body spaces see Wiles, 1997, 79-80, 2000, 119.

⁹ The audience's mind is drawn back to Phaidra's 'abnormal' entry from there at l.170, with which the first section of the play (Phaidra's 'tragedy') began.

¹⁰ The closing of the doors is confirmed by Theseus' remark in l.793, see p.142 below. This scene would recall the stage action before the *parodos*: it is possible that the gates of the palace open for the entrance of a paidagogos-like figure, just when Aphrodite utters her final lines (especially ll.56-7 about the gates of Hades lying open). For the identification of this porter as 'the amiable Old Servant' see Hourmouziades, 18-9. Hippolytos' exit into the palace is, thus, given symbolic meaning: the interior is presented as a deadly trap (cf.601, where Hippolytos 'bursts' out of the palace as if from a confining inside).

¹¹ Cf.372 by the chorus. In 1253 the Messenger recalls Ἰδῆ but Barrett, on ll.1252-4, rejects the association of this mountain with the Cretan Ida. Croally, 176-7, thinks that the reference in l.372 is relevant to Crete as the home of Phaidra but also as a sort of determinant of the action which the audience sees occurring in Trozen (cf. the reference to Artemis as Diktyнна (146, 1130)) and argues that Phaidra herself in her desire for a marginal figure- Hippolytos- depicts herself in a direct line beginning with Pasiphae and continuing with Ariadne (341).

¹² Reckford, 1974, 328, discusses the impossibility of escaping Crete- as symbol of evil- for Phaidra and Theseus.

¹³ See Barrett, on ll.721 and 722 on the audience's and the chorus' alertness to the ambiguity of her words.

ἡμέρα which recalls ominous prophecies.¹⁴ Subconsciously the audience here possibly perceives a hint at Hippolytos' doom, too. Phaidra as Aphrodite's mouthpiece repeats the words of the goddess in the prologue concerning Hippolytos' arrogant attitude (730 ὑψηλός, as in 1.6).¹⁵ This intensifies the ominous tone, with which the interior has already been invested for Hippolytos (56-7). The comparison between Phaidra's 'death' prediction (728-31) and that of Aphrodite in the prologue is apt; in both cases the means of destruction are unclear. The audience may place a broader interpretation on the dramatic events than do the characters, which creates an activation of the transverse axis but in ironic terms.

The following *stasimon* (732-775) offers an expansion of the reported space beyond places which are closely associated with the specifics of Phaidra's tragedy (the first part of the play) to lyric spaces. The chorus first recalls Phaidra's desire to escape the visible dramatic space (673) by presenting the unreal wish to become birds and fly away.¹⁶ Through this flight the audience is distanced from the dramatic action and taken to imagined spaces discontinuous with the visible dramatic space. This distancing does not mean that the ode is irrelevant to the particulars of the play. On the contrary, it contributes to viewing the dramatic action in wider terms, which interweave with it.¹⁷

The *strophe* begins with implications of darkness and secrecy (κευθμῶσι at 1.732, cf. 674, 712, 714).¹⁸ It is as if the palace becomes an ἡλίβατος κευθμών, since Phaidra has just exited into it. Lyric space is expanded to the limits of the known world and the opposition in the vertical axis becomes striking: a god is going to make the chorus reach the sky (735, ἀρθείην), that is, the upper point of the axis, but simultaneously the destination of this flight hints at a place which is related to death, that is, the Underworld.¹⁹

¹⁴ Cf. the ominous use of it, for example, in OT.438.

¹⁵ See also 27f mirroring 727 and 22 parallel to 726.

¹⁶ Cf. ll.1058, 1256. For the identity of the character who wishes to fly see Padel, 1974, 227 (chorus), Parry, 317-26 (the chorus mirrors Phaidra's thoughts).

¹⁷ Barrett, on ll.752-63, considers the description of this journey 'decorative but quite irrelevant'. See also Barrett, on ll.732-75. For the relevance of the ode to the play see Padel, 1974, 227, 241, Parry, 317-26. For an analysis against Barrett see Wiles, 1997, 126-8, who however goes to the other extreme with his assumption about the mimetic action of the chorus and the establishment of the sea as a meta-space. See also Halleran, 1995, on ll.732-75, Wiles, 2000, 122-3.

¹⁸ See also Padel, 1974, 230, n.1.

¹⁹ Cf. the same image of flying and wings in the fourth *stasimon*, and ll.1290-3, see p.157 below. The lyric activation of the vertical axis during the *stasimon* could also function as an implicit evocation of the previous presence of Aphrodite, the deity who brings death, on the roof (top of

The only topographical indication for the mythological example of Phaethon which follows is the river Eridanos but, since it is evoked as a lyric space, the geography as Barrett rightly remarks 'is still (despite the one name Adrias) that of fable and not of fact'.²⁰ The example of Phaethon is very apt since he is the 'male doublet' of Hippolytos but also associated with Phaidra.²¹ The analogue with his fate foreshadows Hippolytos' future ominously.

In the *antistrophe*, the semi-mythological geography of the *strophe* continues with the chorus' imaginary flight reaching towards the western end of the world: the shore of the Hesperides was the most famous end of the earth and the boundary beyond which mortals could not go- implicitly a place of death (745-6).²² On reaching this space where earth and heaven are in 'closest conjunction' the flight of the chorus accomplishes a metaphorical transition to the less gloomy world of the gods (747-50).²³ The gods' garden does not have any share in human mortality and suffering.²⁴ The picture which the audience perceives is different from the one in the previous *strophe*. Prosperity and abundance are interwoven with the gods' marriage-beds but not those of humans (750-1). This liminal 'inaccessible' space reinforces the contrast between the divine and human worlds, the dominant theme of the play. As the chorus 'flies' beyond the boundaries of the known world, these two stanzas widen the scope of space and time beyond the dramatic boundaries and offer a view of the events of the play in a larger spatio-temporal frame.²⁵

The second *strophe* and the *antistrophe* mark the narrowing of the focus from lyric spaces to narrative spaces of the play. The chorus gives an extensive

the vertical axis in performance space) at the beginning of the play, see n.132. For the spatial movement between sky and earth see Segal, 1979, 151-61, Wiles, 1997, 128.

²⁰ Barrett, on ll.735-7.

²¹ For Phaethon as the male doublet of Hippolytos and the mythic other through whom the identities of Phaidra and Hippolytos are confounded see Zeitlin, 1996, 236. See also Padel, 1974, 235, Reckford, 1972, 414, Segal, 1979, 160-1, Halleran, 1995, on ll.738-41. For examples of mortals involved disastrously with the sky see Segal, 1979, 151-2.

²² For the mythological and inaccessible except to the imagination places in the first *strophe* and *antistrophe* see Padel, 1974, 229.

²³ For this location as an area of conjunction of heaven, earth and death see Parry, 1966, 322 (from which the quotation); Segal, 1965, 133.

²⁴ On the gods' garden see Barrett, on ll.742-51. The gardens with the springs might also recall Hippolytos' idealised meadow and therefore his happy past.

²⁵ For such expansion of space and time which is typical in lyric odes see also, for example, the lyric spaces included in the first *stasimon* (535-64).

account of Phaidra's journey from Crete to Athens.²⁶ The image of the bird (732) is repeated in the first line of the second strophic pair (λευκόπτερε, 752) thus, connecting the two strophic pairs. The motif of flight is prominent again; the boat is merged with the idea of the bird and this image continues, as Phaidra herself becomes the vessel crushed by Aphrodite (766-7, κατεκλάσθη, ὑπέραντλος) after her flight which is followed by birds of ill omen (759-60, δύσορνις ἔπτατο).²⁷ At the beginning of the *strophe* there is no mention of the palace from which Phaidra departed. Only the ship which brought her to Athens for her disastrous marriage is characterised as Cretan. The first mention of the Cretan palace occurs in l.755 where it is opposed to the ill-omened arrival in Athens; the home of Phaidra is presented as a very prosperous place, similar to the ideal world described in the first *antistrophe* (ὀλβίων at l.755 recalls ὀλβιόδωρος (750)). The pattern is, however, reversed here, because Phaidra's journey functions as the means of transition from happiness to death, recalling the imaginary, symbolic 'flight' of the chorus in the first strophic pair.²⁸ Even though this voyage occurred in the past, through the lyric account that time extends to the present which becomes infinite and the voyage is relived beyond the constraints of real time.²⁹

This *stasimon* offers a representative example of the handling of space in lyric odes and thus deserves further attention. At the beginning of the ode, time and space are viewed in a broader and more distant perspective than that which characterised the events of the preceding scene of the play, with a gradual narrowing of both towards the end of the ode.³⁰ After the expansive lyric spaces of the first strophic pair, the narrowing to the specific topography of the play begins in the second *strophe* with the reference to a detail of Athenian geography (760-2). The spaces of the second strophic pair are, however, still perceived by the audience under the wider spatial perspective of the first. In the first *strophe*, Phaidra's case is depicted not merely as a unique case but as a paradigm of a

²⁶ Padel, 1974, 230, n.2, argues that 'in both *strophes* the allusion to a real but distant place acts as a springboard for the movement peculiar to each strophe, away from the world in the first, back in the second'.

²⁷ For the transport through sea, see Segal, 1965, 133.

²⁸ Padel, 1974, 228, says that 'the two journeys produce the effect of movement that characterizes this ode'.

²⁹ Zeitlin, 1996, 226, argues that 'the end point of the journey that began Phaedra's story long before the opening of the play is recollected at the moment when her story is to end. Yet it inaugurates in turn the beginning of the other's journey that will lead him away as an exile from his father's house to.... the road to destruction'.

general condition.³¹ Even though the voyage provides the passage from one particular narrative space to another (Crete to Athens), the significance of this journey is coloured by the lyric spaces: this is a doomed voyage and the large, uncontrollable forces which are implicated are elucidated by the first strophic pair. Therefore, to characterise Crete and Athens as narrative spaces like the ones reported by a Messenger or a character in the *epeisodia* deprives them of this lyric ominous colouring essential for the semantics of the play. It is thus appropriate to consider Crete and Athens as a kind of synthesis of lyric and narrative spaces.³²

The last *antistrophe* brings the audience to the dramatic present after this long transition from the past (a kind of imaginary journey by the audience itself).³³ The chorus offers a predictive, prophetic account of the event, which takes place inside, verbalising Phaidra's suicide. The phrase *τεράμνων νυμφιδίων* (768) leads the audience's imagination to the exact place in the interior of the palace where the suicide is taking place.³⁴ The adjective *νυμφιδίων*, in particular, reinforces the contrast between past and present; the bridal bedroom which is normally related to the happiness of marriage becomes the place of death.

The relationship of the spaces in the ode to the structure of the play shows that there is a strong disjunction as Phaidra's tragedy ends. The choral song marks the pivot between the two parts, namely the tragedy of Phaidra and the tragedy of Hippolytos. Death usually means a reflective pause in the action. From a structural point of view this is generally achieved by means of a major choral interjection. In this case, however, Euripides runs against the normal convention; there is a deliberate structural contraction: Theseus comes straight in and the action moves forward as speedily as possible.³⁵ This *stasimon* exploits the notion of an alternative lyric space, in order to distance the audience spatially and emotionally from the first part of the play. From the decision and the fact of

³⁰ See also Parry, 318-23.

³¹ See Wiles, 1997, 11-2.

³² See also chapter 4, p.129.

³³ On the spatial progression in this ode see Halleran, 1995, on ll.732-75. Wiles, 1997, 128, refers to the symbolic correlation between the *strophe* and the *antistrophe*.

³⁴ For this impressionistic view of the suicide see Halleran, 1985, 74-6. Goff, 11, says that 'despite the absence of Hippolytos, Phaidra can no longer relate to the house except as a tomb, which is what it threatened to be from the outset'; she continues that 'the Troizenian house takes on its role as scene of violence..., as it narrows down to the single bedroom where Phaidra hangs herself'.

³⁵ For a contrast with *Agamemnon* see Barrett, on ll.776-89, Taplin, 1977, 323 and n.1, Easterling, 1991, 54.

Phaidra's death the audience is prepared to 'move' to different spaces and action through this lyric intervention. The first part ends and the second begins with Theseus' entrance with the *stasimon* as the bridge between them. There is a major choral interjection although proleptically displaced so as to minimise the structural impact of Phaidra's death. The strong choral ode creating a stop after a suicide is here presented before the death is announced. The death thus leaps to the second part of the play and the event of Phaidra's suicide is overwhelmed by the following events and especially Theseus' lament. The *stasimon* is, therefore, deployed in the service of the construction of the play.³⁶

After the *stasimon* foreshadowing Phaidra's death, her suicide is confirmed and projected acoustically into performance space by the cries from inside the palace overheard by the chorus. The transverse axis opens as the interior is united aurally with the exterior. The convention is not broken as in the rule-breaking case of ll.565-590, where Euripides conveniently stresses the chorus' inability to hear Hippolytos' and the Nurse's voices (571, 585 σαφές δ' οὐκ ἔχω) as a mechanism to project interior action outside through Phaidra. The manuscripts variously identify the voice from within as the Nurse, a servant (θεράπεινα), an ἄγγελος or ἐξάγγελος. Although the voice from within functions as an ἐξάγγελος, these cries are not followed by the appearance of the character in visible dramatic space or a Messenger's report and the designation ἄγγελος or ἐξάγγελος thus seems inappropriate. The lack of an extended report which would justify either of these speaker-designations is a further and notable indication of the structural minimisation of the fact of Phaidra's death. The Nurse's exit instruction (708) also implies that she is dismissed once for all, appropriately, as she belongs to the first section of the play. This scene is both the brief conclusion of Phaidra's tragedy and the starting point of Theseus' and Hippolytos' story, after the bridge provided by the *stasimon*. Further participation by the Nurse would, therefore, arguably distract the audience.³⁷

³⁶ See chapter 3, p.89.

³⁷ For a different view see Pittas-Herschbach, 160, Easterling, 1991, 54, Halleran, 1995, on ll.776-7. Barrett, on ll.776-89, considers all the possible attributions but finally prints τροφός. Theseus' question in ll.790-1 (cf. also 808) implies the presence of servants inside (776, 780, cf.784, 786) but it should be taken into account that l.791 is problematic, see Barrett on ll.790-3. Significantly, the chorus are never addressed as γυναῖκες or Trozenian women. The appeal for help never becomes specific, which implies that the speaker is unaware of the presence of the chorus. It is more plausible and appropriate for a servant to make this rather formal herald-like announcement than the Nurse.

The scene is presented as taking place behind the front of the *skene*. Euripides' technique here is ingenious; he manages to present the account of the suicide more suggestively than if it were staged in front of the audience's eyes. The manner of Phaidra's 'aerial' death (769, especially κρεμαστοῖς.... ἡρτημένη in 779, 802) recalls the flight of the chorus in the previous *stasimon* (732-741) and her own (760).³⁸ The relation of Phaidra's death with flying is reinforced later on: the bird-simile in ll.828-9 presents Phaidra as having fulfilled the wish which the chorus had expressed for themselves.³⁹

The verb βοηδρομεῖτε (777) is used when help is required by the weak.⁴⁰ Here help is being asked from those who are πέλας δόμων, not the entire *polis*. Apart from its function as an implicit preparation for Theseus' entrance (790-1),⁴¹ the phrase 'πέλας δόμων', gives the scene a 'domestic touch', which will be reinforced by the following personal lament by Theseus.⁴² From the perspective of performance space, this appeal emphasises the distinction between the *orkhestra* and the *skene*; the chorus as *dramatis persona* is close to the palace but its reluctance to enter the palace (περᾶν δόμους, 782) implies that it cannot transcend the boundaries of the space which it is allowed to occupy.⁴³ Conventionally the chorus does not leave the *orkhestra*, so it is not surprising that it does not intervene here.⁴⁴ It is merely the observer of the events which are taking place inside and are announced outside; ὥς κλύω (788) confirms that the chorus does not have direct perception of the events, appropriately, if the suicide takes place in the marriage chamber (769f).

Theseus' unexpected entry (790) opens the horizontal axis.⁴⁵ He apparently enters through the opposite *eisodos* from that used by Hippolytos for his exit after

³⁸ Cf. the participle ἡρτημένη for the personified tablet in l.856, as if the tablet becomes Phaidra's voice now that she is dead.

³⁹ See Segal, 1965, 135, for this bird-imagery.

⁴⁰ Taplin, 1977, 218-21.

⁴¹ Taplin, 1978, 115.

⁴² Halleran, 1995, on ll.776-7.

⁴³ For a discussion of περᾶν see Barrett, on ll.782-3. Ll.784-5 have been attributed by Barrett, on ll.784-5, and Halleran, 1995, on ll.784-5, to another member of the chorus, so that a pattern similar to *Agamemnon* occurs, though much more limited in terms of the number of chorus members involved. The division into ἡμιχόρια goes back to the mss and seems plausible.

⁴⁴ Hourmouziades, 88, claims that the chorus takes a few steps towards the *skene*. However, a reconstruction of its precise movements can only be speculative. See also Taplin, 1977, 324, n.2 for 'some sort of abortive move towards the palace' as conventional at murder scenes. See also Winnington-Ingram, 1969, 130, n.27.

⁴⁵ Theseus' command to his attendants later on (1084) is an indication of their presence on stage (as mute characters) from the beginning of this scene.

his tirade (668).⁴⁶ The main reason for this assumption is the fact that Theseus is coming from abroad (possibly Delphi, or another sacred place with an oracle, the exact location of which remains vague).⁴⁷ Further, if we accept the view of Hourmouziades, his entry will have taken place from the same *eisodos* along which the chorus entered earlier.⁴⁸ This *eisodos* thus serves as the entrance point for characters who act as representatives of social activity and are to a great extent, though not deliberately, responsible for Hippolytos' death, the chorus because of its oath, Theseus because of his belief in the deceptive evidence provided by Phaidra's tablet.⁴⁹ Hippolytos has already entered and exited by the opposite *eisodos* which leads to the meadow, his own ideal world, far away from society and civic activity (cf. 12 μόνος πολιτῶν).⁵⁰ It is reasonable to assume that the chorus would have entered through a different *eisodos* from the one used by Hippolytos, given the emphasis on the exclusiveness of his meadow, which is apparent in the extensive account of it in the prologue (73-81). Euripides wants to stress this narrative space which functions as a spatial projection of Hippolytos' exceptional character and which contrasts with the impurity- through Phaidra's incestuous love for him- of the palace. If we were to speculate that Hippolytos enters from the meadow and thus from the same *eisodos* through which he might have left in l.668 (cf. the similarities between 78 and 653) after hearing his father's cry (902), the impact on the audience is more striking; this *eisodos* is reserved exclusively for him until the end of the *agon*.

The opening of the horizontal axis with Theseus' entry has particular dramatic significance when it is viewed in association to the activation of the transverse axis with Phaidra's suicide. The absence of the choral ode after the suicide leads

⁴⁶ The main argument is not what Hourmouziades, 132, has suggested, that Hippolytos does not meet his father. Hippolytos exits in l.668, while Theseus enters about 120 lines later, in l.790.

⁴⁷ The vagueness is possibly justified by the lack of interest for the oracle, the contents of which have no dramatic significance.

⁴⁸ Hourmouziades, 132, suggests that the women of the chorus enter along the opposite *eisodos* from the one which Hippolytos used. In this case the chorus uses a different *eisodos*, even though they come from a near narrative space in the countryside (the stream), another example against accepting the traditional convention about the *eisodoi*, see the discussion in chapter 3, p.82, n.97. For the contrary see Halleran, 1995, 145. For the opposition between sea and mountains see Wiles, 1997, 154, and 2000, 118.

⁴⁹ For the chorus as representatives of social life see l.286 in which the chorus plays the role of Phaidra's witnesses, cf. 294. At 404 the reference to μάρτυρας could imply the role that she gives to the chorus as representative of the outside world.

⁵⁰ Segal, 1988, 268, observes his arrogance (84 'μόνῳ βροτῶν'). See also Padel, 1974, 234. For the meadow as the spatial analogue of Hippolytos and an edenic enclosure see Zeitlin, 1996, 232-3, 258. Segal, 1993, 113-4, comments on its handling as the private cultic space of Hippolytos' personal religion. For the erotic connotations of the meadow see Bremer, 268-80.

to a dynamic intersection between the two axes, since immediately after the deepening with the focus on the interior where Phaidra dies the horizontal axis is also activated without the expected articulation of a *stasimon*.

Theseus enters with a garland, because he brings good news from the oracle but symbolically his entrance contrasts with the world of the play. The harmonious relationship between men and gods implied by Theseus' visit to the oracle and by the emblems which he is wearing is in contrast with their distinctive relationship in the world of the play.⁵¹ Theseus seems to belong to an outside world. He enters in a carefree way which comes to an end as soon as he reaches the 'tragic zone' of the play; the gloomy atmosphere of Phaidra's suicide captures him when he hears the cries from the palace.

Theseus' first words to the chorus mark his surprise at the lack of any attention on his arrival (792-3), unnoticed by the chorus because their eyes, like those of the audience, are focused on the interior of the *skene* and the events related to it.⁵² The doors of the palace are closed, as Theseus remarks (793). This contradicts the norm that the gates should be opened to welcome the King, and especially a θεωρόν (792), in his return.⁵³ This textual indication strikingly sets attention on the doors. The disaster which has taken place within the palace and the subversion of the joy which Theseus expected upon his arrival become visualised outside through the closed doors. They will open but to reveal Phaidra's corpse.

The motivation of the chorus' presence in the area of the palace is presented in realistic terms: they have just (ἄρτι) arrived to mourn for the queen.⁵⁴ The mention of an explanation of their 'entrance' resembles the conventional entry cue for the chorus when it first enters the *orkhestra* and their presence functions as marker for the beginning of 'the second tragedy'.⁵⁵

On hearing the news, Theseus tears the garlands from his head (806), a movement which conveys his shock at his sudden state of misery and signifies the disturbance in his previously good relationship with the gods.⁵⁶ After this elaborate preparation, the result of the suicide becomes visible, the doors of the

⁵¹ See Barrett, on l.790.

⁵² See Halleran, 1985, 21.

⁵³ See also Segal, 1988, 279.

⁵⁴ Cf. Phaidra's realistic entry motivation in l.181.

⁵⁵ Πενθητρία also implies threnetic lyric, as if they were going to engage in the expected lament after Phaidra's death (805).

⁵⁶ This is also a reversed mirror-scene of ll.82-3, see also Taplin, 1978, 93-4. For a discussion of the symbolic meaning of this gesture see Segal, 1965, 134-5.

palace opening like the gates of Hades opening to reveal Phaidra's corpse.⁵⁷ The *ekkyklema* was certainly used here, in its characteristic use of projecting interior scenes into the exterior, thereby blurring the distinction between public and private spaces. There is a second point in the use of the *ekkyklema* here; the lament of Theseus is preceded by the instruction to open the door (808-10), a clear signal for the *ekkyklema* to be rolled out.⁵⁸ A strong visual focus is needed for Theseus' monody, which is a vocalisation of personal rather than public emotion and fits well with the notion of the tableau projecting the body of Phaidra from the interior. Consequently, Theseus does not acknowledge the existence of the chorus, while it repeatedly addresses him. His only addresses, apart from those to himself (826, 836), are to the corpse of Phaidra (827, 841, 848, 860). The action on the stage is, therefore, focused inwards. It is watched by the chorus as by the audience creating a line of unification within the transverse axis between *orkhestra* and auditorium (in contrast to the previous *stasimon*, where the chorus' 'lyric' vision of the suicide was differentiated from the audience's perspective).

The tableau displaying the corpse functions as the visual connecting point between the two sections of the play. The lament for Phaidra, which serves as the structural marker of the end of her tragedy, is, against usual practice, not delivered by the chorus despite their claim (804-5) that they have just arrived to do so. That their role is assumed by Theseus allows the discovery of the tablet attached to Phaidra's body and thus, despite the oath which binds the chorus to silence (713-4), the transfer of attention to Hippolytos and the beginning of his tragedy. Reflective lament in the *orkhestra* is transformed into continuation of action in front of the *skene*.

During the chorus' brief comment (852-4) the proxemics in the area of the *skene* change. Theseus must be moving towards the corpse, since he notices the tablet hanging from Phaidra's hand.⁵⁹ This is a surprise for both the audience and the chorus. The way in which Phaidra was going to reveal the 'crime' was unknown until now and even Aphrodite had not mentioned anything in her

⁵⁷ Cf. 56-7, 1447.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Herakles* 1028-37, *Medeia* 1314-16, where it is cancelled in a surprising way. Hourmouziades, 107, comments that 'the spectator is left with the impression that everything has happened just behind the door and therefore Theseus' order a little later (806ff.) to open it... is very natural'.

⁵⁹ For the use of καὶ μὲν see Barrett, on ll.862-3. For the proximity between corpses and characters who lament see Kornarou, 112, 228, 233.

prologue.⁶⁰ The tablet is presented as personified here: it is not a mute witness like the house (418, 845), but it has a voice (857, 865) of increasingly shrill intensity to 'shout' what was secret (877, 880). The opposition between interior and exterior is invested with the emblematic meaning of the contrast between silence/secrecy and speech/revelation (846).⁶¹

Theseus' cry to the city (884) transforms private space to a civic one.⁶² The address to Theseus as ἄναξ in l.891 is noticeable.⁶³ Theseus lamented in private by the *ekkyklema*; as he turns to the *polis*, there is a focusing of space from the interior to the exterior and further to the auditorium. The full activation of the transverse axis seems a possibility in this part of the play. Since the chorus cannot play the role of the citizens and the entry of a group of citizens is unlikely, 'one is tempted to ask whether the audience of tragedy might not be able to take these addresses [to the city] as to themselves'.⁶⁴ The opening of dramatic space to the audience external space reinforces this assumption.⁶⁵ Theseus' generalisations (916-20) at the beginning of the *agon* may perhaps be interpreted as Euripides' remarks to his contemporaries.⁶⁶ The dispute between the characters in the *agon* of tragedy, the scene type whose models were the law courts, occurs in a place which is given the features of 'civic' space, reminding the audience of their own status as participants in the Agora and as jurors in the courts (especially ll.988-

⁶⁰ See Halleran, 1995, on ll.856-65. On the unification of the transverse axis see Barrett, on ll.866-70, according to whom 'the Chorus have less evidence than the audience: only Phaedra's last words and now the tablet. But this is beside the point: when the audience have deduced what is to come, they will feel it only natural that the Chorus should have deduced the same'.

⁶¹ For the semantic oppositions between interior and exterior and especially secrecy vs. revelation see Padel, 1990, 343-7, Knox, 1952, 5-16, Zeitlin, 1996, 243-50.

⁶² Barrett, 435-6, on l.884, claims that Trozenian citizens are summoned onstage responding to this address but in my view it seems implausible that a secondary chorus of citizens appears on stage. Against it see also Taplin, 1977, 219, n.2. The word πόλις is found in some mss. instead of τάλας in l.817 but I agree with Barrett, on ll.817-8 that it is less in place in his personal grief.

⁶³ Cf. 900-1 where just before Hippolytos' arrival the chorus addresses Theseus as ἄναξ again and describes the palace as his place of authority (σοῖσι δόμοις). Goff, 116, considers Theseus the 'immediately obvious political figure of the play'.

⁶⁴ Croally, 243. See also Wiles, 1997, 217-8, 2000, 125, for the audience as implicitly cast as citizens, quite separate from the low-status female chorus. Wiles, 1997, 219, believes that 'to isolate the audience from the spatial field of the performance... is to deprive the play of a subtle but powerful instrument for the production of meaning'. Against the inclusion of the audience are Bain, 1975, 22, n.1, Taplin, 1978, 187, n.5. For Theseus as a spectator and thus –in my terms– the activation of the transverse axis see Goff, 116. A secondary chorus has already been identified as Hippolytos' companions, who, however, as sharers of his unsocial interests, are not suitable characters to represent the *polis*.

⁶⁵ See also Wiles, 1997, 216-9, for a more extreme view.

⁶⁶ The use of the word σοφιστής by Hippolytos (921), a word with many connotations among the Athenians is also noticeable. For other associations of the play with contemporary religious persons and events see Halleran, 1995, on ll.1038-40, 1057-9, Musurillo, 1974, 236-8 for ll.925-31.

90).⁶⁷ The most striking example implying recognition of the audience as citizens is the reference (986) to Hippolytos' difficulty in speaking in front of the ὄχλος, a word with specific political context.⁶⁸ Within the world of the play a quasi-civic space is created and the audience thus slip into their role as citizens.

In performance terms, Theseus' public speech act puts an end to his spatial isolation. Οὐκέτι... δυσεκπέρατον (882-3) stresses the lexical transition from interior to exterior thought.⁶⁹ The focus of attention is now on the public space in which issues are openly rehearsed. On a semantic and spatial level, the secret transcends the boundaries of the domestic area.⁷⁰ In ll.690-2 Phaidra was concerned about loss of control, fearful Hippolytos would reveal everything to the city. Now she herself intentionally reveals the 'secret' through her letter, substantially her own voice.

When Theseus proceeds to the sentence of exile, Hippolytos, even before his entrance, has already been excluded from the palace and Trozen, that is, the visible dramatic space. Hippolytos' entrance is introduced implicitly in ll.895-6.⁷¹ Hippolytos enters after hearing his father's cry (902). The immediacy of his entry and the fact that he has heard Theseus imply that the distance between the palace and the meadow from which Hippolytos comes is short and creates a sense of spatial continuity between the meadow and the palace which, however, does not correspond to the semantic association between them in dramatic terms. The palace, which was hostile to Hippolytos after the revelation of Phaidra's secret by the Nurse, has become even more dangerous for him after Theseus' reaction to the content of the tablet.

After his entry, the chorus remains silent. Dramatically this is justified because of their oath to Phaidra.⁷² In terms of performance space, the chorus

⁶⁷ For references to contemporary political life of Athens see Halleran, 1995, on ll.486-7, 421-25. The adjective κλειναί reflects a contemporary characterisation of Athens.

⁶⁸ Halleran, 1995, on ll.986-7. For Hippolytos as an oligarch see Wiles, 1997, 218. Hippolytos' speech has many words with political overtones: ὀλίγοι (987, see *LSJ* s.v. ὀλίγος, II), γεγώς (995), τυραννεῖν (1013), μοναρχία (1015), ἀρίστοις (1018, cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἄριστος, I.1), πράσσειν (1019, see *LSJ* s.v. III.5), τυραννίδος (1020).

⁶⁹ See Zeitlin, 1996, 244, for the 'homology of the door and the mouth'.

⁷⁰ For concealment and revelation in general see Segal, 1988, 263-82, 1993, 92-6.

⁷¹ It is as if his entry at 902 is the result of the fulfilment of Theseus' curse; just after his prayer Hippolytos arrives at the δόμους Ἄιδου. Even the scribe must have noticed the relation with 56-7, and in ms. M there is the *lectio* πύλας instead of δόμους (cf. 55). See Barrett, on ll.893-8, for the use of δόμοι. His argument that at death, one goes *into* the house of Hades could reinforce the negative meaning attributed to the visible house represented by the *skene*-building as the entrance to death.

⁷² See Barrett, on ll.710-2 for the chorus' silence in tragedy.

becomes deactivated (despite the fact that Theseus is also reluctant to speak) so that the focus of the audience attention remains on the actors.⁷³ A play with introverted space may be detected in ll.916-80. At the beginning of his speech (916-42), Theseus does not pay any attention to Hippolytos occupying thus his own private, introverted space. L.943 ἐς τόνδε and l.945 σκέψασθε, however, imply that Theseus is aware of the presence of both Hippolytos and the chorus and, therefore, that his personal space is not introverted, since he was alert to what Hippolytos said (φρενός at l.936 responds to l.935).⁷⁴ The audience's perception of space is realigned with l.943 and l.946 (δείξον); Hippolytos, who was completely neglected before, becomes here the focus of the universal attention in the city.⁷⁵ Even though the space which Theseus occupies seems introverted, an impression strengthened by the isolating effect of the monologue, his speech is extroverted in its resemblance to a political proclamation to his citizens.⁷⁶

The speech ends with the sentence of Hippolytos' immediate exile from all the territory ruled by Theseus. This includes the narrative space of Athens (974) which, however, was also the actual performance space. As Croally remarks, 'Athens, as represented in tragedy, is itself an other-scene'.⁷⁷ The relationship between Athens as performance space and Athens as narrative space becomes more dynamic, if the play with the dramatic involvement of the audience in this *agon* is taken into account: the audience have the same view of Athens as narrative space as have the characters of the play.

The focus on Athens as narrative space remains with the reference to Theseus' past victories over Sinis and Skiron (976-80). Time and space extend beyond the

⁷³ A similar deactivation of the chorus occurs in ll.267-83 so that the focus remains on Phaidra and the Nurse, cf. 1038.

⁷⁴ Wiles, 1997, 218, considers σκέψασθε an audience address, cf. 955-6. Goff, 116, says that 'not only does Theseus represent an audience within the play, but his gestures of political and linguistic power (943 and 956) are also theatrical gestures that must in some sense include the audience'. However Bain, 1975, 19, believes that this address is meant for the world in general, while Chandriotis, 127-8, says that it is an address to the chorus.

⁷⁵ See Goff, 43-4, who claims that Hippolytos is put on show before Theseus' subjects.

⁷⁶ See, for example, l.956 (προφωνῶ πᾶσι), cf. OT.223. See also Hipp.975. Halleran, 1995, on ll.976-80, claims that 'like Phaidra's, Theseus' standards are to a degree directed outwards- to what others will say of him'. In this scene there is also proxemic discontact between the actors, since there is lack of direct communication between Theseus and Hippolytos because of Hippolytos' averted gaze (947).

⁷⁷ Croally, 188. It is also noticeable that the mention of places in Athens, like the Akropolis, is framed by deictic markers which identify the dramatic space as Trozen (e.g. at 29-31) as if there is an attempt to persuade the audience that the visible dramatic space is *not* Athens. Ἐκδημος is perceived in terms of an Athenian audience (37, 281, with reference to Trozen, cf. 156 ἔξοπος).

specific dramatic boundaries of the play but these stories, while not part of the particular *mythos* of the play, cannot be characterised lyric spaces because the mode of their narration is not allusive. They come closer to Messenger reports of past events of the kind found in Euripidean prologues and *exodoi* (the mention of the topographical locations of these murders is noticeable). Both of the villains mentioned (Sinis and Skiron) were killed by Theseus on his original journey from Trozen to Athens.⁷⁸ The common element with lyric space, however, is that since, in Theseus' view, Hippolytos belongs to the same category as villains his 'crime' is viewed as an *exemplum* in a broader spatio-temporal frame. The comparison with these criminals also makes Hippolytos' fate certain: he will die as the other villains did.

Hippolytos begins his speech addressing Theseus as his father (983, cf.695, 705), which suggests an attempt to bring about a new configuration of proxemic space.⁷⁹ This address, in contrast to his father's generalisations, shows Hippolytos' wish, failed in the end, for reconciliation and contact with him and therefore a unification of their personal spaces (cf.1000, 1041).

The identification of dramatic space as public, exterior space also dominates this section. The first half of l.991 'ἀνάγκη...γλῶσσάν μ' ἀφείναι' repeats the notion of transition from introverted to exterior thought. As in the case of οὐκέτι... δυσεκπέρατον for Theseus before (883), the secret needs to be told. Euripides is playing with the audience's expectations, as there seems to be a hint here that the oath of silence which took place inside the palace will not be kept by Hippolytos in exterior space. The 'inside', the palace and its secrets which were kept and then revealed within its walls, is under present circumstances 'threatened'. For almost seventy lines this 'threat' is imminent until, in l.1033 and especially ll.1060-3, the distinction between outside and inside is restored: Hippolytos keeps the secret, as the chorus does.⁸⁰ Notably, the secret also remains inside Hippolytos (1033, 1060 with the emphasis on the closed mouth).

The boundaries, which Hippolytos presents as he continues his *rhesis*, the earth and the sun (994-5) reinforce the notion of this scene as taking place in the

⁷⁸ See Segal, 1965, 136-7, for them and the contrast between Theseus' and Hippolytos' experiences. Wiles, 1997, 218, detects here a reference to Athens' attempts to control the Saronic Gulf, but I remain sceptical about such specific references to contemporary events.

⁷⁹ Cf.902, 905, 910, 915. Grube, 188-9, considers Hippolytos' *rhesis* tactless.

⁸⁰ For the more public role of the women of the chorus in the second part of the play see Easterling, 1991, 51.

open, 'outside', but also recall the interior scene of the argument between Hippolytos and the Nurse in the first half of the play; both were invoked by him as witnesses to his 'suffering' at the hands of the Nurse as he burst out of the palace (601-2).

As part of this focus on public space the *oikos* in Hippolytos' argumentation assumes a 'civic' tone: it is not the domain of women anymore, but the place from where authority derives.⁸¹ Hippolytos brings this 'political' tone to the foreground more explicitly than does Theseus (ἐν πόλει, 1017, cf. 1028-9).

The exile is mentioned by Theseus immediately after the ominous hints of Hippolytos' death. On the way to his exile his life will end (l.1049 will come true later in the play). Theseus would send, if he could, Hippolytos beyond the boundaries of the world, that is, implicitly, to the Underworld (1053-4).⁸² Πόντος especially makes this connection clearly apparent, as the invisible space of Hippolytos' fatal accident is near the sea.⁸³

The text offers no indication of Theseus' exit, although the semantics of the play can be helpful in suggesting the staging of this scene. The last passage (1090-1101) is heavily focalised through Hippolytos himself.⁸⁴ Theseus does not have any part or reaction. Were he to hear Hippolytos' last words, it is difficult to suppose that the actor impersonating so active and emotionally charged a character would- even for conventional reasons- suddenly freeze. Although in other cases such neutralisation is usual, the situation here is different.⁸⁵ At the end of the *agon*, father and son almost fight and even the servants (δμῶες, 1084) are activated by Theseus at the climax of the action. Hippolytos' reaction cancels the enactment of Theseus' command, but it is apparent that Theseus has no pity for his son (1089).⁸⁶ A strong break is required in l.1089.⁸⁷ This becomes striking if it corresponds in theatrical terms to the clearance of the dramatic space; everything associated with the *skene*, which represents the *oikos*, moves within and the doors close. This effective emblematic stage action corresponds to the

⁸¹ Dale, 217, remarks that Hippolytos appears unaware of the chorus' presence.

⁸² Cf. the second *stasimon* p.135 above.

⁸³ Cf. also l.1168 with the reference to Poseidon as the god whose domain is the sea (Πόντος).

⁸⁴ For the term 'focalisation' see Lowe, 2000, 265.

⁸⁵ For example, Theseus in ll.1414-1446, the Nurse in ll.361-432.

⁸⁶ Bain, 1981, 15, says that it is 'Theseus' own assurance that he himself will use force that leads to Hippolytos' departure'.

⁸⁷ L.1091 would be likely to provoke Theseus' interest, were he present.

notion of Hippolytos' exclusion from the palace.⁸⁸ The issue is ended; the use of the perfect ἄραρεν... (it is fixed) at l.1090 for an action which has been decided and cannot change is noticeable.⁸⁹ The door is impenetrable. If Theseus exits at l.1089, Hippolytos' disconnection from his *oikos* is visually reinforced.

Artemis' answer in l.1404 implies that Phaidra's corpse is not visible at the end of the play.⁹⁰ Its continuing presence would lead to a loss of focus on Hippolytos' death. The absence of any textual indication for its removal in this passage suggests Euripides' desire to discount its visibility and redirect the audience's eyes to Hippolytos' departure. The way the play is structured makes clear that Phaidra is to be remembered rather than to remain as a visible dramatic fact in Hippolytos' tragedy. The dissolution of the stage configuration, which has been assumed above, implies that the withdrawal of the *ekkyklema* would coincide with Theseus' entry into the palace. When Theseus turns to go in, either the *ekkyklema* precedes him, or, as *Her.*1028-37 suggests, he is on the *ekkyklema* with Phaidra's corpse and the servants move through the doors of the *skene* after it.

Hippolytos is the silent observer of the house closing against him. In the last passage he accepts the fact that his exclusion is fixed: this is a diminuendo pause, a sad farewell to the city, which is also addressed to Artemis (1090-1101). Hippolytos' brief speech means that he is turning his mind, and with it the audience's, away from the *oikos* to the narrative space of the *polis* and beyond and prepares the exit cue for the group of his friends. This involves in verbal terms a reminder of space beyond the visible dramatic space, where Hippolytos will experience catastrophe. L.1101 is, therefore, a clausula. The sad comment by Hippolytos about his father implies that Theseus has already exited. His continued presence would also have distracted the audience's attention from Hippolytos' closing cue to the *stasimon* at 1102 ff.⁹¹

⁸⁸ In l.659 Hippolytos separates himself from the house but this exclusion is decided by him as a disassociation from the space which is polluted from Phaidra's incest (the use of *vûv δὲ* marks this break). The disassociation is signalled by an exit of Hippolytos- as will also happen in ll.1101- but towards his exclusive space, the meadow, and not towards a hostile space, as will happen from 1101ff.

⁸⁹ Compare the use of the perfect in l.52 to indicate that Hippolytos' labour of hunt is over- implying also that this was his last time. For a perfect indicating that a section of time- and action- reaches finality cf.680, 778.

⁹⁰ For the corpse remaining visible until the end see Wiles, 1997, 11. For the references to Phaidra at the end of the play (e.g.1404, 1430) see Segal, 1965, 154, Matthei, 110.

⁹¹ Alternatively, the reference to Theseus takes account of the departure itself, which is synchronous with the speaking of these words or immediately after it, see Barrett, on ll.1090ff.,

Hippolytos ends his farewell with an emphasis on the civic space which he is now to abandon. The third and second person address (χαιρέτω, χαιρε) distinguish Athens and Trozen respectively. Even though Athens is mentioned first (1094-5), the second-person address is more direct, while the third-person implies a perception of Athens as a location more remote in relation to the visible dramatic space.⁹² The two regions of Theseus' political authority are recalled here. The evocation of both Athens and Trozen has a preparatory function for the merging of narrative and visible dramatic space as the play reaches its end.⁹³ Possibly this farewell also marks the end of Hippolytos as a citizen and the end of the section focused on the *oikos*/palace (ὑστατον 1097, οὐποτε 1100) the place which gave him such identity (1097-1100). His civic 'death' forebodes his physical death (χαιρε in 1094-5 is also used by persons about to die) and implies the end of his role as dramatic character who will never re-appear (1097, 1100 cancelled later cf. 1265).⁹⁴

Hippolytos then addresses his young companions (54f, 1173ff) whom I consider to be the secondary chorus who had appeared in the prologue.⁹⁵ The exact point of their exit is disputable. The masculine gender used in the participles in ll. 1105, 1107 of the next *stasimon* has provoked much discussion. The most widely held opinion is that the *strophes* are sung by this secondary chorus.⁹⁶ However, they are supposed to have accompanied Hippolytos during his exit, possibly, because he is going abroad, through the *eisodos* along which

Halleran, 1995, on l. 1101. Pittas-Herschbach, 132, 156-7, argues for Theseus' *unobtrusive* (my emphasis) entry into the palace shortly after Hippolytos' exit so that the focus remains on Hippolytos and the *stasimon*. But his exit then loses all dramatic significance.

⁹² Barrett, on ll. 1094-7, makes the same point. See Wiles, 1997, 218, for the contrast with ll. 1158-9.

⁹³ Barrett, on ll. 1093-4 argues that Hippolytos mentions Athens first because 'the son of the Athenian king must in Attic tragedy think of himself primarily as an Athenian'. For the dual identity of the Trozenian- Athenian locus see Pittas-Herschbach, 132, 140. Wiles, 1997, 217, says that with the arrival of Theseus the setting seems to melt from Troezen into the real space of the performance, Athens in contrast to a strong sense of topography in the first part.

⁹⁴ For χαιρε cf. *Aj.* 863, *Tr.* 921.

⁹⁵ For the identity of these men see Taplin, 1978, 134-5 (youths), Barrett, on l. 58, (servants but suggesting another group comprised of citizens for 884ff, followed by Dimock, 248, n.3), but codd. (huntsmen). The question is unanswerable.

⁹⁶ Bond, 60-1, Luschig, 1988, 57-8; Dimock, 248, n.3, for ll. 1102-10, see also Easterling, 1991, 51-52. Reckford 1972, 417, n.14, argues that some men may have stayed to sing, while the others followed Hippolytos. Zeitlin, 1996, 249, and n.65, accepts a division between male and female parts as a correspondence to Hippolytos' psychological status. Against the division of the ode into two choruses see Halleran, 1995, on ll. 1102-50, Sommerstein, 1990, 35-9. Barrett, on ll. 1102-50, after an account of the various opinions suggests emendations. For reviews of his suggestions see Lloyd-Jones, 170, Segal, 1965, 169, n.40, Conacher, 1965, 342-3. For the unification of the two choruses in the *epode* and the meaning of this see Reckford, 1972, 417, n.14, Easterling, 1991, 52-3, Segal, 1965, 141.

Theseus had entered at l.790. If Hippolytos had departed alone, there would have been no need for him to address the group. Based on textual indications, however, it would be plausible to assume that they do not accompany Hippolytos in his exit (a visual reinforcement of his isolation and social exclusion) but that they depart after singing the *strophes* of the following *stasimon*, even though this implies time-compression before the arrival of the messenger at l.1151. Προσείπατε in l.1098 implies that Hippolytos provides them the motivation to sing.⁹⁷ Responding to his command, they seem to give an account of Hippolytos' departure and comment on it after his exit (1124, εἶδομεν); ὀπισθόπους (1179) also implies that they follow Hippolytos, so they do not exit simultaneously with him but further behind, even though l.1179- in a poetic exaggeration which perhaps anticipates Hippolytos' status as a cult-figure- indicates a large group of people.⁹⁸ Προπέμψατε in l.1098 possibly has a specific meaning, as it recalls the *propemptikon* for a corpse, thus foreshadowing the scene in which Hippolytos' friends bring him back after the accident.⁹⁹ The word also implies that this group is his accompaniment and thus he is entirely cut off from the rest of society. The appeal to the shores (1126) seems to be the group's exit cue.

The third *stasimon*, especially in the figurative description of ll.1108-1110 anticipates Hippolytos' death and recalls his purity (ἄκῆρατον, also used of the meadow in 73, 76) but also his inflexibility.¹⁰⁰ This *stasimon* also begins with a more generalised and philosophical view of the exile, narrowing to Hippolytos' fate in the second pair.¹⁰¹

The chorus appears as eye-witness of Hippolytos' banishment but also prepares the spectators for what they will soon see in visible dramatic space: the punishment of Hippolytos visualised in his entrance as a fatally injured man. The reference to a minor Aiginetan goddess associated with Artemis- if the *lectio* 'Αφαίας is correct (1123)- reinforces the bond of Hippolytos with Artemis, his protector who however cannot help him (cf. 1400-2) and brings the wider region of Attica into the foreground (possibly alluding to Hippolytos' journey away from

⁹⁷ Bond, 60, Dimock, 248, n.3, argue that ll.1098-9 introduce the secondary chorus.

⁹⁸ In l.54 the same word (ὀπισθόπους) is used, though preceded by 'ἄμ' αὐτῷ, because the secondary chorus there had plausibly entered just behind Hippolytos, since they sing with him. See also Reckford, 1972, 417, n.14. Against is Barrett, on ll.1102-50.

⁹⁹ For the use of προπέμπω in funeral procession, see *LSJ* s.v. 'προπέμπειν' II.1.

¹⁰⁰ This psychological inflexibility reflects to the physical one (1219ff).

¹⁰¹ See Barrett's analysis on ll.1102-50. For a different interpretation see Conacher, 1965, 342-3, Bond, 60-1.

both Trozen and Athens).¹⁰² The focus on Hippolytos' rushing to 'another' land (1125) 'moves' the audience from the visible dramatic space to the new narrative space, which the messenger will bring into the foreground in detail. The shores (1126) may allusively refer to the location of Hippolytos' accident, which is taking place simultaneously with the singing, even though these shores are a civic site (possibly one of Hippolytos' favourite spaces) and not beyond city borders as the space of his punishment (1199 τοῦπέκεινα τῆσδε γῆς).¹⁰³ Since this *strophe* (especially after l.1121) also initiates the lamentation of the chorus for Hippolytos' doomed fate it seems appropriate to recall favourite spaces of his life such as the shores.¹⁰⁴

The ominous tone is reinforced by the second *antistrophe*. The use of οὐκέτι as its first word, echoing the *strophe* (1120), accentuates the anticipation that Hippolytos does not exist anymore. During the previous *strophe*, even though there is reference only to the exile (1140), there may have been a hint that the accident seems to have already taken place and from now on the mourning begins. No horses will be in the area of the Λίμνα (it is noticeable that the horses are the reason for Hippolytos' death), while the *oikos* and domestic life are also coloured negatively: no music will be heard (recalling possibly the κῶμος of Hippolytos and his followers in l.61) and no garlands will be available in the resting-places (recalling Hippolytos' meadow) for Artemis (a contrast with the statue of Artemis which the audience sees garlanded).¹⁰⁵ The reference to the maidens may anticipate the establishment of the cult for Hippolytos by Artemis at the end of the play, while the bed-chambers might function as a symbolic evocation of the interior and, in particular, of Phaidra's death-place and the reason for Hippolytos' accident.¹⁰⁶ Through the lyric account the audience receives an overview of the whole play. Despite its ominous tone, the *antistrophe*

¹⁰² See Diggle, app.crit. on l.1123. Fitton, 33-4 and Huxley, 331-3, propose 'Αφαίας assuming the association of the goddess with Artemis-Diktyнна; against this view Sommerstein, 1990, 39-40, proposes the adjective 'Αλθηπίας, which is however very uncommon. Barrett, on ll.1120-25, prefers the word 'Αθάνας. For the objections to it see Huxley, 331.

¹⁰³ Segal, 1965, 143, makes the same point. Phaidra's delirium may also be recalled here ominously (148, 228-31 may be recalled with 1134). For Λίμνα as the sanctuary of Artemis where Hippolytos exercises his horses see Segal, 1965, 123, cf. Barrett, on ll.148-50. For the shore as a significant boundary and for the use of boundaries in this play see Zeitlin, 1996, 231, n.31.

¹⁰⁴ Pittas-Herschbach, 174.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. 806-7 above in which Theseus tears off his garlands on the news of Phaidra's death. For βαθύς as an allusion to previous depictions of the meadow and the shift from surface to depth in Hippolytos himself, see Zeitlin, 1996, 249.

¹⁰⁶ Zeitlin, 1996, 249, argues that this ode is an 'anti-epithalamium'.

still depicts Hippolytos in exile (1140) because the chorus does not know what has happened.¹⁰⁷ The audience would have been more alert to these clues (because of Aphrodite's prologue) and thus realised that Hippolytos' accident had occurred. There is thus a graduation in the degree of knowledge within the transverse axis.

The *epode* is a lament for this exile- death. The address to the Χάριτες at the end of the *epode* possibly functions as a way of recalling the power of Aphrodite just before the news about Hippolytos' fatal accident, as if Aphrodite and her associates had sent Hippolytos to his death (πέμπετε 1150). The mention of συζύγαι again (cf. 1131) recalls the horses which bring Hippolytos death.¹⁰⁸ The stress on the injustice of this punishment introduces the frame surrounding the Messenger's narration of the accident. This framing ends with the Messenger's comment on Hippolytos' justice (1250-4).

The Messenger's arrival (1151-2) is the response to the chorus' questioning of this injustice.¹⁰⁹ The messenger (most likely a servant) enters running through the *eisodos* which Hippolytos had used for his exit to exile.¹¹⁰ After the choral distancing from the visible dramatic space, the focus of audience attention returns to the palace and especially to the interior where Theseus is supposed to be and which had been so significant in the previous part of the play. Hippolytos' tragedy should, however, take place in open visible space and the activation of the interior would distract the audience from this focus. So, Theseus appears immediately and both the Messenger's address and Theseus' response confirm that the space is public and civic, the space of the King's political authority (1157-1161).¹¹¹ The Messenger's narration becomes thus a public announcement.¹¹²

The handling of the narrative space of the accident shows an interesting play between realism and the miraculous. The visible dramatic space freezes and the

¹⁰⁷ Barrett, on ll.887-9, argues that the curse remains in the background in the *agon* and the *stasimon* so that the effect of Hippolytos' miraculous destruction in the messenger's account is 'the more telling in that we have for the moment ceased to expect a miracle at all'.

¹⁰⁸ For the meaning of συζύγαι and the role of the Kharites for the play, see Bushala, 420-9.

¹⁰⁹ Pittas-Herschbach, 174-5, discusses 'the acceleration of time in the third *stasimon*, so that when the Messenger is seen approaching (1151), his arrival does not seem to occur too soon'. See Wiles, 2000, 117, for speculation about the chorus' movements.

¹¹⁰ For the dispute about the identity of the messenger see Barrett, on l.1151.

¹¹¹ Barrett, on l.1161, remarks that the adjective ἀστυγείτονας refers to the political connexion between Athens and Trozen rather than local proximity. Wiles, 1997, 218, says that the 'status of Troezen as a marginal but integral part of Attica is emphasized'. The space remains public despite Theseus' temporary introversion with the reference to Poseidon (1169-70).

audience's attention turns to this invisible space, now depicted in a different mode of presentation from the allusive account of the choral ode. The messenger's description is specific and linear and, as normally in Euripides, the Messenger is an eye-witness throughout the events.¹¹³ He presents the accident scene in brief episodes: first the exile and the way in which Hippolytos' friends react are depicted. Their location and actions there are described in realistic detail (1173-97), even though hints at his death are also given (κυμοδέγμονος 1168, forebodes the wave from which the bull comes, while κλαίοντες 1173-5, the mourning after Hippolytos' disaster).¹¹⁴ Hippolytos' movements are presented in detail (1187-93), while the inclusion of direct speech gives vividness to the narration. It is, as if despite his visual absence, Hippolytos is always present to the audience.¹¹⁵

The geography of the location in which the accident takes place is given in considerable topographical detail, which corresponds to real locations (such as Argos, Epidauros and the Saronic Gulf), known to the fifth-century audience (1197-1200).¹¹⁶ The shore is delineated as if it could be located in a map (1199-200), thus providing a realistic frame for the accident. The characterisation of the place as an isolated area, presumably beyond the civic borders within which Hippolytos had previously remained (ἐρημον χώρα 1.1198), anticipates ominous events. The contrast with Hippolytos' favourite location, the meadow, is striking. The creation of their topography is handled, despite some similarities, in completely different ways. Both of them are created through accounts by different characters.¹¹⁷ Both spaces are not defined as areas of civic activity but the space of the accident is geographically located and presented as harsh and hostile. The meadow, by contrast, was depicted as a dream-like location, a *locus*

¹¹² See also Segal, 1993, 112.

¹¹³ See the function of the Messenger in ch.3, p.87.

¹¹⁴ For κυμοδέγμονος see Segal, 1965, 142-3.

¹¹⁵ For the effect of direct speech see De Jong, 137.

¹¹⁶ Euripides probably referred to actual places even if we cannot reconstruct the exact location. For the actual topography see Barrett on ll.1198-1200 and ll.121-2, Fitton, 22-5, Bernand, 259-61. See Segal, 1965, 159, for Hippolytos and Saron, another follower of Artemis, from whom the Gulf was named.

¹¹⁷ The meadow is described by Aphrodite (16-7, 26) and Hippolytos himself in the prologue (73-81) and Phaidra during her delirium (208-230). See Segal, 1965, 124-5, for the contrast between Hippolytos and Phaidra's approaches to it. For the allusive description of the place of Hippolytos' accident by the chorus see p.152 above.

amoenus, which belongs to a world different from the real one.¹¹⁸ There was no topographical information about its exact location or distance from the palace.¹¹⁹ Yet the events which happen in each space are reversely analogous to the spaces themselves: hunting, a normal everyday activity, takes place in the unrealistic meadow, whereas supernatural action occurs in the accurately mapped location of the accident.

The preparation for the accident is elaborate: the description is first acoustic (1201) and then visual.¹²⁰ The fearsome sound heard introduces the fictitious element which intrudes into this natural, realistic location.¹²¹ The focus turns to the sky, the place of the gods (1203)- a preparation for the divine punishment whose form, however, still remains vague. The exact place of the miracle is given in ll.1210-12 (actual geographical locations are again included in 1208-9), so that the miraculous appearance of the bull from the wave takes place in a realistically depicted space, the credibility of the event reinforced by the authority of the messenger who is an eye-witness of this miracle (1208). The play with the alternation of realistic and fictitious elements continues with the presence of Hippolytos' chariot in this setting. The terrifying picture which has been depicted until now in visual terms, is reinforced by the sounds of the bull (1215-6) creating a very vivid scene as if it were enacted in visible dramatic space. The bull emerges from the sea to entrap Hippolytos. The open space of the shore far from the city's safe borders turns into a space of enclosure and destruction. Sky, land and sea miraculously unite.¹²² Hippolytos' movements are again presented in detail, as if in a series of cinematic close-ups, cutting insistently between rider and horses (the use of many verbs in the passage and, especially, of presents is striking, 1218, 1221, 1224- the same happens after his injuries, 1234-37).¹²³ After

¹¹⁸ See Halleran, 1995, on ll.73-87, for the semantic associations of the meadows in Greek literature and religion. For the contrast between the 'woodland and the sea' and the turn of the former against Hippolytos, see Segal, 1965, 122 and 132 respectively.

¹¹⁹ It may be assumed that the meadow is near the palace see p.145 above. For the correspondence between the unrealism of the meadow and Hippolytos' exclusive standards of life see p.141 above.

¹²⁰ De Jong, 146-7. She makes the interesting point that after the noise a more detailed visual description of the bull's appearance is expected but the messenger is presented as too frightened to look. For the reasons, see Barlow, 1971, 71-3. For the spectacle and sight combined with hearing, see Zeitlin, 1996, 261-5, Segal, 1993, 118.

¹²¹ The adjectives used are noticeable (1201-2).

¹²² Segal, 1965, 143, remarks that the border-ground between land and sea becomes a place of violence and destruction.

¹²³ The image of the bond δεσμὸν (1237) recalls Phaidra's suicide with the noose (770, 802) (cf. 1.671: κάθαρμα). See also Zeitlin, 1996, 279, for the yoke of marriage Hippolytos refuses to find

the accident, the sound and visual effects suddenly stop, since the destruction is completed. The attendants remain at the back (1243); the focus of the attention, even in this narrative space, should be on the exceptional Hippolytos alone. The magical disappearance of the bull and the horses, as well as Hippolytos' mysterious disentanglement from the reins, are also noticeable (1244-7).¹²⁴

With σὼν δόμων (1249) the refocusing from the narrative space to the visible dramatic one occurs. The palace is reactivated as the place of dramatic action. The messenger's question in l.1261 whether Hippolytos may be brought back, that is, re-appear in the performance space (1265) brings a new issue into the foreground. It is as if he were asking for permission from Theseus for Hippolytos' reappearance as a dramatic character despite the declaration of the end of his role at l.1096. Theseus' decision to accept it allows the construction of an emotional scene in front of the audience, simultaneously presenting the visual reconstitution of Hippolytos' family and civic status.

Time is compressed as the play approaches its end and the imminent death of Hippolytos. The fourth *stasimon* is extremely short and framed by this notion of immediacy: the messenger exits as quickly as possible and Artemis enters straight after the song, just as, after the second *stasimon*, a voice is heard from an area which gives new dimensions to the development of the plot.¹²⁵ Yet, while there is a dialogue between the voice and the chorus after the second ode and before Theseus' entry, in this case there is no dialogue, and significantly, no entry announcement.¹²⁶

The subject of the *ode* is the universal power of Aphrodite. The emphasis on the unbending mind of gods and humans recalls the inflexibility of the characters

himself bound to the yoke of destruction. For Hippolytos' movement from high downwards see Segal, 1979, 155.

¹²⁴ Hippolytos' isolation is also stressed by Zeitlin, 1996, 266. She remarks that 'his companions are left far behind (1244-5), no longer even able to witness in full the final spectacle of his ruin'. For the horses becoming as wild as the Bull and the symbolic meaning of both see Segal, 1965, 143-7. Segal, 1979, 156, remarks that 'the confused spatial relations of horse, rider, and chariot image the overturning of Hippolytos' world'.

¹²⁵ See Halleran, 1995, on ll.1268-82.

¹²⁶ Compare, for example, the entry announcement of the god in *Ion* 1549-52, *El.*1233-7. Another surprising entry without announcement occurs in *Or.*1625 where Apollo appears with Helene. Pittas-Herschbach, 173, rightly remarks that the chorus has already lamented for Hippolytos in the third *stasimon* and that 'the chief function of the chorus in this last *stasimon* is to help prepare the scene dramatically and technically for the appearance of Artemis above the palace, by inducing a sense of dread and creating a sense of agitation'.

in this play.¹²⁷ The image of flying and wings prevails here recalling the second *stasimon* and the flight of the chorus to death.¹²⁸ The sea also plays a significant part, as it did in the second *stasimon* for Phaidra's ominous voyage. Since Hippolytos' death is also near, it seems that the sea functions as a symbol of transition to death in this play (1273-5). The two regions which define the place of Hippolytos' death are recalled as places of Eros' domain: the earth and the sea (1272-3). In combination with the reference to 'above', the sky, the song forms a summary of the areas which played a dominant role in the preceding narrative (cf. 443-50): the sky is the area of the gods and Hippolytos' accident is regarded as 'divine punishment'.¹²⁹

Human beings are referred to last in the list of Aphrodite's victims (1280) as they are intended to be the focus of the attention, preparing the audience for the entrance of Hippolytos.¹³⁰ The results of the power of Eros on people recall Phaidra's suicide and Hippolytos' death because of her love. Here, as in the second *stasimon*, the recital of the power of Eros is shortly to be followed by its demonstration in the death of those who have resisted it. Surprisingly, however, it is Artemis rather than Aphrodite, as might have been expected, who now makes a supernatural 'appearance' on the roof with her symbol of power, her arrows (1422 with the deictic τοῖσδε).¹³¹ This forms a nice contrast with Aphrodite's entry at the beginning of the play and a parallel to it, as both goddesses appear on the roof, before Hippolytos' arrival with his attendants.¹³² In the prologue Aphrodite's

¹²⁷ This subject has close relations with the first *stasimon* where Eros' and Aphrodite's destructive power was stressed. ἄκαμπτον φρένα in l. 1268 and ἐφορμάσῃ in l. 1275 recall Hippolytos' strict ideas but also Aphrodite's (and Eros', consequently) rigid determination to destroy the 'disobedient' Hippolytos even in loss of two human lives, Phaidra's and his. Zeitlin, 1996, 230, n. 27, interprets this ode in a different way: she says that it celebrates Eros' sweet, exalting powers after Hippolytos' fall and suggests the forthcoming reconciliation.

¹²⁸ See also Wiles, 1997, 128, for the second *stasimon*. For the interrelations of the ode with other odes of the play see Segal, 1979, 156. In l. 1271 ὠκυτάτῳ possibly refers to the swift revenge and attack of the god of Love.

¹²⁹ See Segal, 1979, 156.

¹³⁰ The reference to the animals over which Aphrodite has power recalls the hunting and the meadows, that is Hippolytos' lifestyle. See also Segal, 1965, 149 for the associations. For the nature expressed by such lists see Barrett, on ll. 1277-80.

¹³¹ For the use of the crane for Artemis' entry see Hourmouziades, 156-7, Mastronarde, 1990, 275, Barrett, on l. 1283 (but rather sceptical about how Artemis appears). Taplin, 1977, 445, proposes the use of the roof for sudden divine appearances. Rehm, 1992, 71, suggests the use of the *theologeion*. Easterling, 1991, 55, accepts both possibilities (roof, crane) and stresses the new kind of reality that Artemis introduces. Wiles, 1997, 181, accepts the use of the crane in cases of separateness between mortal and divine worlds.

¹³² I believe that Artemis comes to reoccupy the space of her authority from Aphrodite, her rival goddess- who has already accomplished her plan- both dramatically and theatrically. In my view Aphrodite had also appeared on the roof at the beginning of the play and not on ground level, so that the disconnection between mortals and gods and especially the opposition between the two

exit is followed by the hymn to Artemis, here the hymn to Aphrodite is followed by Artemis' appearance.

Artemis' voice and fragrance are stressed but she is not visible to the characters: the distance between mortals and gods has to be retained and the two worlds remain separate.¹³³ Theseus and Hippolytos thus can only hear her (1284-5).¹³⁴

Artemis' revelation of the truth changes Theseus' behaviour towards Hippolytos and prepares the way for Hippolytos' re-acceptance by his father and therefore by the *oikos* and the community.¹³⁵ Her austere attitude towards Theseus brings the vertical axis into the foreground again.¹³⁶ He should either go to the Underworld or fly above to a winged life: both alternatives mean death or suicide. Theseus himself used the same pattern when he was mourning Phaidra's suicide (828-9, and 836-7 for the Underworld).¹³⁷

The climactic entry of Hippolytos is reinforced by the fact that, unusually, it follows rather than precedes the arrival of the divine figure whose presence signifies closure. Artemis dominates the part before Hippolytos' entry, while Theseus utters only three words but both seem now to become neutralised as silent, grieving spectators (1339, 1389, 1394) so that the focus remains

goddesses and the lifestyles which they represent become visualised- the use of the same word for the location they occupy (τόποι) is noticeable; see also Mastronarde, 1990, 275-6. The inescapable power of Aphrodite is also reinforced by the occupation of the highest point of the vertical axis in contrast to Hippolytos' one, when the palace becomes the gate of the underworld, the other pole of the vertical axis (cf. 192, 196, and 681-2). Cf. ll.3-6. See also Segal, 1993, 114. For her entry on ground level through an *eisodos*, see Hourmouziades, 156, Halleran, 1995, on ll.1-57, Pittas-Herschbach, 137, Wiles, 2000, 120. For the- unlikely- appearance of the goddesses with the crane on the *paraskenia* see Bieber, 1954, 279-80. Mastronarde, 1990, 276, suggests a side door but prefers the roof entry. For the similarities between the two scenes see Halleran, 1995, on ll.1283-46, Dunn, 1992, 103-11 (especially the aetiologies).

¹³³ Pittas-Herschbach, 142, argues that it is likely that her appearance was 'accompanied by clouds of incense, so that Hippolytos (and many of the spectators) did indeed 'smell' the presence of Artemis'. Barrett on ll.1391-3, claims that Hippolytos does not see Artemis because she is 'outside his field of vision'. But this is an overrealistic approach for a conventional theatre. As Taplin, 1977, 116, n.1, rightly argues the characters see gods according to the dramatic needs of the particular play.

¹³⁴ Cf. 86-7. This distance between humans and goddesses reaches its climax with Artemis' departure and Hippolytos' comment on it (1437-9, 1440-1). Especially l.1441 shows that this *ὀμιλία* which was very significant for Hippolytos (cf. 1093 with the addresses to Artemis as to a close companion) is easily dismissed by Artemis.

¹³⁵ For Artemis' difference from the other gods 'from the machine' who look at the future see Goff, 107.

¹³⁶ Artemis criticises Theseus for the rapidity of his decision to condemn Hippolytos (1322-3, cf. 1051, 1056, 1065). See Goff, 109-10, for the representation of Artemis here.

¹³⁷ See pp.135-6 regarding the expression of the chorus' similar desire in the second *stasimon*. See also Segal, 1972, 150. Segal, 1979, 157, says that 'Theseus, like Hippolytos, is now involved in a confusion of heights and depths, left with no place on earth to go'.

exclusively on him during ll.1342-88.¹³⁸ Hippolytos' condition is described before the audience can see him clearly and contrasts his previous entrances; then, Hippolytos was the character who entered, exited and moved freely around invisible areas but now is carried injured.¹³⁹ His entrance has many similarities with Phaidra's entry (176) but it is noticeable that she enters from the *skene*-building with one attendant, the Nurse, while Hippolytos enters through an *eisodos* carried by a group of attendants, this processional entry reinforcing the public and communal tone of Hippolytos' tragedy.¹⁴⁰ The verb κομίζω, which is sometimes used of conveying corpses strikingly characterises both entries (170, 1261, 1265).¹⁴¹ There are equally strong, and ironic, reminiscences of Hippolytos' first entry (58), of which this is a pathetic enactment. In both he is accompanied by his loyal followers; here they support his fatally injured body, as they had there joined joyfully in his processional song to Artemis. Here the remote figure of the goddess watches his painful journey through the *orkhestra* as silently as her statue had earlier received his prayers and garland (73). Here, as there, Hippolytos' journey leads him back to the doors of the palace, which have now become, as Aphrodite had promised (56f, cf.1387-88), the doors of Hades.

It is a journey during which Hippolytos enjoys complete dominance of performance and dramatic space, the mortal and divine worlds remaining separate until the vertical axis is reactivated by Artemis' words at ll.1389-90 and contact with the horizontal axis at once re-established by Hippolytos' recognition of her presence (1391-3). The close association between Artemis and Hippolytos is indicated by the dialogue between them in contrast to lack of direct conversation between Artemis and Theseus. Even though Hippolytos' fate is inevitable (ἀφύκτοις in l.1422 reinforces the inflexibility of the gods) Trozen accepts Hippolytos as a communal hero with the establishment of a cult in his

¹³⁸ Taplin, 1977, 172, n.1, remarks that Artemis enters before Hippolytos so that the truth is revealed.

¹³⁹ For Hippolytos' mode of entry see Barrett, on l.1342. On the contrast between previous appearances of Hippolytos and the contrast with Phaidra's limited movements see Pittas-Herschbach, 146. Segal, 1979, 158, discusses the contrast between Artemis' high position and Hippolytos' downward movements.

¹⁴⁰ See Halleran, 1995, on ll.1342-6, Taplin, 1978, 135-6, Frischer, 92-3. See, however, Pittas-Herschbach, 149, for the contrast between Phaidra and Hippolytos in terms of dramatic progress. Contrast Zeitlin, 1996, 234, 247, who remarks the sharing and reliving of Phaidra's experiences (the other) by Hippolytos (the self).

¹⁴¹ For the verb used with the meaning of carrying corpses see also *Andr.*1264, *Hek.*672, *Hik.*754. See Allen-Italie under κομίζω.

honour (1424ff).¹⁴² Hippolytos is thus reintegrated into the civic life of Trozen but no longer as an ordinary citizen.¹⁴³ In contrast to the instability of this life (as presented in 1108ff), he transcends the boundaries of the *oikos* and dramatic present time and enters a timeless present beyond it (1426, 1428), which reaches the time and cultic experience of external audience space.¹⁴⁴ It is significant that Trozen itself is mentioned for the first time as πόλις (1424). Previously, it was simply πέδον (1095) or γῆ (12, 29, 1159). It seems that there is a transition of Trozen itself to a civilised space, familiar to the Athenian audience. Trozen starts converging with the place with which it has been associated throughout the play, namely Athens, the city *par excellence*.¹⁴⁵

The theme of silence-publicity recurs here but in terms completely different from the way it was presented in the first part of the play. Hippolytos' death is not as mournful as before: he is offered consolation in ll.1428-9 with the promise of immortal fame in song (ἀεί, κοῦκ ἀνώνυμος, cf. 32f) and, implicitly of transfer to the other, more celebratory spaces occupied by the maidens who will sing his story.¹⁴⁶ The reference to Hippolytos' fame (1429) also recalls Aphrodite's opening line (1).

Since the contact between roof and ground level has been restored in Artemis' dialogue with Hippolytos, that between the characters of the latter should also be re-established (1431f implies that Theseus can do what Artemis cannot do).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² Goff, 114-5, discusses the 'normalising' rite as the 'proper differentiation of the sexes is restated and the confusion brought about by excess or deficient sexuality is rectified by the practice of legitimate marriage'. For a political interpretation of the cult and Hippolytos as Troezenian see Wiles, 1997, 219. For the communal spirit of this grief and the tradition of masculine heroism see Segal, 1993, 112. For ritual and the play itself as bringing immortality to Hippolytos, see Segal, 1979, 160, Goff, 121.

¹⁴³ Goff, 115, stresses the incorporation of marginal Hippolytos- and therefore the unmarried females- into the heart of the *polis*.

¹⁴⁴ See Zeitlin, 1996, 267, for the eternal mourning of the maidens. For the ways in which ritual links mythic past to democratic present see Foley, 19.

¹⁴⁵ Pittas-Herschbach, 140, remarks that the stage set of the tragedy 'does not take the audience away from its surroundings but, instead, brings the dramatic action to Athens itself: the soil in front of the 'Trozenian' palace is firmly Athenian. This is why, when Hippolytos is banished, when he dies, his expulsion and his death are doubly felt because the spectators see him both as a legendary hero and one of their own. In a sense, then, Trozen is the invisible, imaginary space beyond the scenic space'.

¹⁴⁶ It is also significant that the singing is now re-accepted for Trozen (1428, in contrast to l.1135).

¹⁴⁷ Pittas-Herschbach, 157, says that Theseus 'is the focal point of the action: the Messenger, Artemis, Hippolytos, all come to him: the human and the divine converge upon Theseus'. For the departure of Artemis as Hippolytos' relinquishment of the wild and his death as the rebirth of his humanity see Segal, 1965, 155. For the meaning of Artemis' early departure see Dunn, 1992, 109.

The activation of points of the vertical axis corresponds with activation of parts of the horizontal. This recalls the activation of the transverse and horizontal axes in the scene after Phaidra's suicide. After Artemis' exit the focus of the audience's attention is on the two mortals and especially on Hippolytos' last moments. The depiction of a death in visible dramatic space is an exception to usual practice in Greek tragedy.¹⁴⁸ It is justified, however, by the public tone given to Hippolytos' death. The close grouping of the two actors is indicated by the change in the proxemics and the physical contact between the actors (1431-45). Hippolytos ends his part with another oath, recalling the presence of the goddess on the roof before and calling on the gates of Hades (1447, cf. 56-7), an activation of the vertical axis which causes Hippolytos' destruction. His end is confirmed with the use of perfect tenses (1457, cf. 1090).¹⁴⁹ The veiling at the end of the scene marks Hippolytos' death and recalls Phaidra's veiling after her delirium of desire. Both reserve their nobility by their deaths.¹⁵⁰

The lines which form the end of the play are disputable.¹⁵¹ However, it is certain that Theseus addresses Athens without any reference to Trozen anymore (1459).¹⁵² Even if the conjecture 'Αφαίᾱς' is accepted, this does not change the focus on Athens, since the goddess is associated with Aigina and not Trozen.¹⁵³ The convergence of the narrative and the performance space of Athens reaches its climax. The dramatic space has dissolved and the performance space reaches towards the real-life experiences of the spectators. The line between dramatic space and real life is blurred. The story and everything related to it comes to its end. The audience's eyes are redirected to Athens and their present.¹⁵⁴

The clearly civic tone of Theseus' address to Athens is reinforced by the

¹⁴⁸ See Rehm, 1992, 62, Walton, 1980, 136.

¹⁴⁹ Segal, 1970, 101-7, keeps the order of the manuscripts for ll. 1452-6.

¹⁵⁰ For the veiling as a function of the Hippolytos-Phaidra relationship see Wiles, 1997, 12-3. For veiling as identification of Hippolytos with the female see Segal, 1993, 119. Easterling, 1991, 56, associates this scene with *Hipp.I* and discusses the playfulness of such elements for referring to the world of theatre without disruption of a play's serious atmosphere.

¹⁵¹ For the different conjectures of l. 1459 see Halleran, 1995, on l. 1459, Barrett, on l. 1459.

¹⁵² Cf. 1094-5 with a similar address to Athens. Barrett, on l. 1459, says that the reference 'may be only to Athens, with Trozen subsumed thereunder'.

¹⁵³ For the acceptance of this conjecture see Diggle, app.crit. on l. 1459. Sommerstein, 1988, 40-1, rejects it.

¹⁵⁴ Pittas-Herschbach, 158, remarks that 'Theseus is in fact Athens. The city thus reasserts itself in the end'.

chorus' final lines.¹⁵⁵ The reference to all the citizens (1462) plausibly includes a reference to the spectators at the end of the play.¹⁵⁶ The chorus extends the space to the auditorium and even beyond it, encompassing all the citizens who will be deprived of the hero.¹⁵⁷ Time also expands to a timeless present in which the story of Hippolytos is rehearsed through ritual.

The manner in which the final moments of the play were staged cannot be other than speculation. Taking into account the reconciliation between father and son which dominates the last scene of the play, it seems legitimate to argue that Theseus exits into the palace while a procession carries Hippolytos' corpse into it as an indication of re-acceptance of Hippolytos into his *oikos* as he passes through the doors of Hades and a parallel to the removal of Phaidra's corpse.¹⁵⁸ Thematically, however, Phaidra is spatially associated with the interior, whereas Hippolytos is related to the exterior.¹⁵⁹ The thematic implications of the use of the *ekkyklema* for Phaidra's corpse are that Hippolytos entering in exterior space after his accident has his death outside, in contrast to Phaidra's corpse which is wheeled out from inside. Considering, therefore, the stress on the public nature of Hippolytos' death and, especially, the cult in his favour it may seem equally possible that the corpse was taken away through an *eisodos* as a visual indication of the way Hippolytos' fame transcends the boundaries of the *oikos* and belongs

¹⁵⁵ Barrett, omits ll.1462-6 as spurious. But Segal, 1993, 258, n.5, argues that the manuscript tradition is quite strong and Halleran, 1995, on ll.1462-6, rightly considers these lines appropriate because of the public dimension of Hippolytos' death. Wiles, 1997, 12, criticises Taplin, 1978, for omitting the discussion of these lines and considers them an incorporation of the audience and a break in the actor/audience divide. Easterling, 1991, 52-3, suggests that these lines are sung by both the main and the secondary choruses as an emphasis on sharing rather than on exclusiveness and separation. Chandriotis, 140-1, associates these lines with Perikles' death saying that the lines of the chorus before this version were different.

¹⁵⁶ Goff, 116, says that 'the closing scenes implicate the audience both as spectators and as citizens; the *polis* appears both on and off the stage'. Wiles, 1997, 12, detects a political contrast between aristocrats and commoners. Segal, 1993, 112, makes the interesting point that ll.12 and 1462 'frame the definition of Hippolytos as one set apart for special suffering'.

¹⁵⁷ For Euripides' tendency to break the conventions and end his plays- especially later ones- with clear instructions to the characters' exits and dissolution of dramatic space see chapter 3, p.78.

¹⁵⁸ See p.149 above. Taplin, 1978, 72, Barrett, on l.1461, also suggest this. Wiles, 1997, 11-13, focuses only on Phaidra's corpse.

¹⁵⁹ The palace is also imagined by the audience as divided in male and female quarters and most likely the conversation between Hippolytos and the Nurse takes place in the male section of the house, which becomes inimical for Hippolytos. The tension of male and female therefore extends within the *oikos* but after Hippolytos' tirade is visualised in the opposition between interior-exterior.

hereafter to the community. The closing lines of the chorus and, especially *κοινὸν* and *ἀξιοπενθεῖς* reinforce this impression.

Chapter 6: *Philoktetes*

From *Philoktetes* I have selected ll.135-253 and 865-973 as passages for detailed examination. The first (135-253) raises a number of interesting spatial issues, especially the detailed account of the dramatic space after Odysseus' and Neoptolemos' descriptions in the prologue (1-3, 16-48) and the much disputed first entry of Philoktetes. In the second (865-973), particular attention is focused on the handling of the proxemic space between Philoktetes and Neoptolemos, especially after the revelation of Neoptolemos' deception, and the appeal to his surroundings by Philoktetes.

135-253

After Neoptolemos' and Odysseus' conversation about Philoktetes and the purpose of their arrival in Lemnos, Neoptolemos consents to Odysseus' deceitful plan. Odysseus exits through the *eisodos*, which has been identified with the way to the harbour (132), and Neoptolemos remains in the visible dramatic space while the chorus enters for the *parodos*.

The *eisodos* through which the chorus enters leads to discussion of the handling of the horizontal axis in this play, which is of particular interest because of its deviation from the pattern characteristic of the other plays, namely the use of both *eisodoi* as the points of access to identified narrative spaces.¹ If, as will be argued in detail later, Philoktetes does not make his first entry through an *eisodos*, that leading to the harbour is the only *eisodos* activated in the play and all locations- in this play the destinations of the voyages- are reached through this. Since it is used by Neoptolemos, Odysseus and the chorus, it symbolises the entry point of the deceiver-Greeks who share nationality with Philoktetes but not his attitudes.² The other *eisodos* remains unused and closed to human access.

Wiles proposes an oppositional scheme in which the unused *eisodos* represents the side of the wilderness.³ I agree with this suggestion but not with his supporting argumentation and the further meaning he attributes to this *eisodos*. His arguments are based on the choreography and Philoktetes' gestures

¹ For the horizontal axis see chapter 3, pp.82, 86.

² For this symbolic meaning of the *eisodos* see also Fusillo, 40, who, however, accepts a side-entrance of Philoktetes from the other *eisodos*.

(for example, 710-11 balanced by 722-3, 1090-4 by 1111-15).⁴ The reconstruction of both choreography and gestures in the tragic plays of the fifth century can, however, only be the product of speculation. Since the unused *eisodos* is given the semantic value of wilderness as the place where Philoktetes hunts birds, the hero's first entry might have been expected to have taken place from there. However, Wiles rejects this staging.⁵ I would rather propose that the unused *eisodos* indicates the uninhabited natural world that surrounds Philoktetes and, hence, his inescapable isolation. His solitary existence and confinement thus become visually striking to the audience. Only in Philoktetes' final exit with Neoptolemos does this isolation come to an end, as Philoktetes leaves the wilderness and exits through the *eisodos* leading to the harbour, and thus to his reintegration into society (1465-8).

The staging suggested above indicates that the semantic distinction between the *eisodoi*, which is a common feature of most plays, is not actively significant in *Philoktetes*, although its implicit importance is arguably profound. The focus remains on the single *eisodos* leading to the harbour and on the distinction between the places to which the voyages from the harbour end. The harbour becomes the departure point of several possible journeys.⁶ The narrative space of the destinations of these voyages is split between East (Troy and the Greek camp) and West (Greece, homeland of both Neoptolemos and Philoktetes, that is, Skyros and Malis respectively).⁷ Greece represents Philoktetes' much desired home, which is recalled with great *nostalgia*, as the place of happiness and social recognition (664-6), while Troy is potentially hostile for Philoktetes because of his abandonment by Odysseus and the Atreidai who have their camp there but it

³ See Wiles, 1997, 154.

⁴ For the choreography see chapter 3, p.76, n.63. Wiles, 1997, 153-4, says that 'a single *eisodos* is used to represent the path to the bay, and implicitly the other *eisodos* must represent the direction of the wilderness where Philoktetes hunts birds, in accordance with the nature/culture paradigm. The choreography endows the unused *eisodos* with semantic content, creating an antithesis between Philoktetes the hunter of birds (side of the wilderness) and Philoktetes the hunted (side of civilisation)'. See *ibid.* 154 for his examples.

⁵ Wiles, 1997, 153, n.73.

⁶ Taplin, 1978, 69, remarks that 'the long series of false departures explore all the flawed alternatives before the true outcome is achieved'. For the complex and shifting meaning of this *eisodos* see Taplin, 1987, 72.

⁷ Taplin, 1983, 165, says that 'the significance of this path to the ship changes repeatedly throughout the play, depending on whether the intended journey leads to Troy or Greece, and whether Philoktetes is about to go deceived or knowing, by force or choice'. The passage to Troy (Greece as Philoktetes thinks) is presented as obligatory (as in ll.615-8, 1421-4); difficult (ll.473-5, 481-3, 890-2, 1183); easy in ll.516-7, 721, 855-6. About the opposed 'extra-scenic' (as he calls

is also the space of reintegration into society and his cure at the end of the play. These spaces are also geographically mapped and correspond to the actual topography known to the fifth-century audience, thus creating a realistic frame for the events of the play.⁸

If one prefers consistency with the tragic norm of the activation of both *eisodoi*, an alternative staging might have taken advantage of the ambivalence of Neoptolemos' attitude in this play. It may be assumed that Neoptolemos and Odysseus did not enter through the same *eisodos* in the beginning of the play. If it is accepted that they come in different ships, they might have entered through different *eisodoi*.⁹ Since Lemnos is an island, the shoreline is presented as continuous (l.1 περιρρύτου glossed by l.2) and both *eisodoi* could lead to the ships.¹⁰ The meaning that such a staging ascribes to Neoptolemos' and Odysseus' first entrances is that Neoptolemos does not appear as Odysseus' follower but as his agent (53, cf.93). He is an independent hero who needs to be persuaded in order to cooperate. The chorus also appears to be under his guidance and not Odysseus' (144-5).¹¹ Thus, the *eisodos* opposite from the one used by Odysseus is reserved for Neoptolemos and his sailors. The advantage of this staging is its visualisation of Neoptolemos' dilemma and change of attitude: the ambivalence of Neoptolemos (as agent of Odysseus' values or as spiritual ally of the values of Philoktetes) is given spatial expression. Apart from presenting Odysseus' and Neoptolemos' threats in ll.1257-60 and Neoptolemos' fear in l.1404 respectively as realistic (and thus more impressive to the audience) if their ships are separate, Neoptolemos' exit to the harbour with Odysseus (1079-80) is clearly contrasted with his final exit with Philoktetes, if these exits take place through opposed *eisodoi*. On this interpretation, therefore, Sophokles seems to have exploited the horizontal axis and the opposition between the *eisodoi* to indicate visually Neoptolemos' ambiguity in the play. Even though this staging is plausible and intriguing for the semantics of tragic space, in this chapter I follow that proposed

'narrative' space) poles, namely Malis and Troy, see also Fusillo, 35-6. For the term 'extra-scenic' see chapter 1, p.19.

⁸ For example, ll.488-91. See also Taplin, 1987, 73-4.

⁹ About the number of Greek ships Raubitschek, 198, argues for one ship. However, Jebb, xx n.1, argues for two ships, one with Odysseus and one with Neoptolemos.

¹⁰ This continuous shore justifies the easy access to ships from the visible dramatic space in 1075-80; the chorus can go to the harbour very quickly.

¹¹ See p.170 below.

first, namely that the persistent interest in Philoktetes' isolation throughout the play suggests the active use of only one *eisodos*.

Apart from the question through which *eisodos* the chorus enters, the point in dramatic time during which this entry takes place is disputable. Webster suggested that the chorus was present during the formulation of the plan between Odysseus and Neoptolemos because it knows of Philoktetes' situation.¹² Such an early entry of the chorus would, however, 'divert the audience's attention from the important dialogue (between Neoptolemos and Odysseus). A continuous distraction might offset any effect that the chorus' silent entrance might have. The *parodos* itself justifies the assumption that the chorus were not visible during the prologue', as Gardiner argues.¹³ The chorus were Neoptolemos' sailors, so it seems probable that they would have had some idea of the purpose of this voyage but would not be aware of the details.¹⁴ Above all, tragedy is drama and one sometimes resistant to realistic explanation. As Taplin rightly remarks, 'the audience would not ask how the chorus got the information'.¹⁵ Moreover, 'knowledge' possessed by the chorus as singers seems not always to be bound by the probable constraints of their dramatic persona.

The chorus begin their song confirming their foreign identity and their presence on foreign land (ἐν ξένῳ ξένον, 135) which is hostile (cf. δεινὸς ὀδύτης in l.147).¹⁶ They are outsiders in contrast to Philoktetes' close association to this space. Their alienated description of this space shows their separation from Philoktetes in contrast to other plays in which the chorus supports the resident of the *skene*-building.¹⁷ For the chorus and Neoptolemos Lemnos is not Greek space where they should feel at home. On the other hand, the Greek camp from which they come seems to have been absorbed by the barbarian non-Greek

¹² Webster, 1970, 66, assumes that 'the chorus of Neoptolemos' sailors may be already in the *parodos* [= *eisodos*], as Odysseus leads Neoptolemos towards the stage'.

¹³ Gardiner, 14-6. Against Webster's assumption see also: Ussher, 2, n.13; Taplin, 1977, 370; Ley, 96.

¹⁴ Ley, 96, remarks that the chorus' 'request to be shown where Philoktetes lives, and what kind of place it is (152/8), answered by Neoptolemos at 159-60, confirms they have not been present'.

¹⁵ Taplin, 1977, 370.

¹⁶ In 147 the mss. read 'ὀδύτης τῶνδ' ἐκ μελάρων' which does not make sense, but Dawe suggests the conjecture ἰδρυτῆς τῶνδε μελάρων. The problem with the suggested conjecture is that it changes both ὀδύτης (common in all mss.) and omits ἐκ. Jebb emends it as οὐκ μελάρων. Against it see Dale, 128. See also Robinson, 38, who rejects the link of μελάρων with μόλη. The question is insoluble but both readings in my view indicate Philoktetes' bond with the cave since in the reading of the mss. the area around his cave is presented as the area he is moving around, while in Dawe's conjecture he is the dweller of the cave.

¹⁷ See chapter 3, p.72.

location of Troy and become only quasi-Greek. The leaders of the camp, namely the Atreidai, and their representative, Odysseus, are never in the play depicted as representatives of typical Greek thought. The values which one might call Greek, such as honesty, nobility, dignity and respect, and which Philoktetes and Neoptolemos- after the resolution of his dilemma- represent, are not known to them.¹⁸ In spatial terms, there is thus an opposition between the Greek homeland and the camp in Troy, two Greek areas but clearly distinct as well.

Nῦν μὲν in l.144 introduces the motivation for a description of the visible location. The dramatic setting of this play must have been striking to the audience. The *skene* façade did not represent the usual tragic building, that is, the palace, the space of authority both political and social, but a primitive cave on the island of Lemnos. This is an exceptional visible dramatic space and perhaps for this reason receives particular attention from the very beginning of the play, even before the identification of the oncoming characters (1-2). The focus on this peculiar visible dramatic space is further achieved through its depiction according to the perspectives of different characters.

The first accounts of the cave and the surrounding location were given by Odysseus and Neoptolemos in the prologue. Odysseus' was given on the basis of what he remembered; thus, it was vague and based on indirect perception (16-23, 28). That of Neoptolemos was based on direct perception (27-39), irrespective of whether he actually entered the cave or just stood at its mouth.¹⁹ The focus then was on the description of the interior of the cave. The chorus has a direct perception of the cave (δέρκου, 146) but from the outside; the dramatist exploited the convention in tragedy that the chorus do not leave the *orkhestra* and enter the *skene* building.²⁰ Thus the focus stays on the surrounding location completing the picture of the visible dramatic location previously given from a different perspective. The different accounts of the dramatic place culminate with Philoktetes' own depiction of it after his first entry (285-99).²¹

¹⁸ See for example, ll.384-90, 396-7, 407-9, 872-3 opposed to 874-6, 1068 opposed to 1069, 1135-9, 1248-9, 1305-7. See also Easterling, 1978, 37.

¹⁹ See chapter 3, p.93. Whatever the details of the staging of this scene in *Philoktetes*, I should remark that the report of the inside (notice ἐνδόν 32) does not imply that the distinction between inside-outside is blurred as, for example, in the case of the *ekkyklema*. Here the inside is merely reported to the separate outside.

²⁰ Ley, 96, says that 'the general movement of the chorus may be towards the cave in this section, but it is clear (from 150/8) that the invitation to look in 144/8 is not immediately accepted'.

²¹ As space opens the play, it ends it, as well. Philoktetes' monologue in ll.1452-64 offers the last description of the location but this time the dramatic space is presented as one of a fairy-tale with

A common point in all the accounts of the visible dramatic space thus far is that Philoktetes' absence gives the opportunity to other characters to describe the location and his situation before he does.²² Since these descriptions are presented by foreigners, not friends or assistants but by those who are going to deceive him, Philoktetes' isolation is stressed even before his entry.

The visible dramatic space functions as a symbol of this isolation. Εσχατιᾶς (144) recalls places at the edge of the world or of a country which usually belong to tragic narrative space.²³ In this play, however, the visible dramatic space is itself part of a marginalised island. Lemnos is definitely Greek but belongs geographically between two worlds, the Greek one of Philoktetes' homeland and the barbarian one, namely Troy, where the Greek camp lies. In spatial terms Lemnos occupies the mid-point and it is the last boundary of the 'Greek'. In terms of 'intertheatrical space' it is significant that Sophokles presents the island as uninhabited (2) while the other two dramatists had presented it as inhabited.²⁴ The audience see in front of them the space of exile and exclusion which is invisible narrative space in other tragedies.²⁵ Thus the desolate island becomes an affective and suggestive symbol of Philoktetes' loneliness.²⁶

The notion of an island itself entails a confined, limited place from which there is no easy escape, suggesting imprisonment (cf. 255-6 where the Greeks' unawareness of Philoktetes' suffering claimed by Neoptolemos in l. 253 indicates

nymphs, springs (which, despite the reference in ll. 20-1 do not play a functional role in any other part of the play, such as l. 716, and thus do not seem to have been visible), open sea- which facilitates the voyage and thus Philoktetes' escape from the island (1464 πέδον ἀμφιάλων). See also Ussher, on l. 1464.

²² Philoktetes' absence is the reason why the conspiracy plan can take place outside, in the open, while normally plans and secrets are confined to the inside, in the *oikos*.

²³ See for example ἐσχατον in *Hrkl.* 278-9, *Med.* 540, *IT.* 1450.

²⁴ The island was not desolate in the Aiskhylean and Euripidean versions, see Dio Chrys. 52 and Ussher, 1, nn. 6, 7, and on l. 221. According to the scholiast only this part of the island where Philoktetes was, was uninhabited (not the whole of it). See Taplin, 1987, 73, n. 12. As Fusillo, 30, n. 19, after Jebb on l. 2 and Kamerbeek on ll. 1-3, remarks this does not change the substance of the events, 'e cioè l' assenza totale di contatto che il personaggio Filottete estende a tutta l'isola'. Fusillo, 31, says that 'la novità doveva provocare un effetto forte sul pubblico ateniese, colpendo sia la sua competenza mitica, sia la sua memoria intertestuale'.

²⁵ See, for example, ll. 227-9. In l. 257 ἐκβαλόντες recalls the description of Philoktetes' abandonment by Odysseus (5-11). Philoktetes himself presents the space where he lives as the exile, the place where persons banished from their society live.

²⁶ Seale, 26-7, for example, stresses the symbolic relationship between main character and physical setting. Easterling, 1978, 36, says that 'the desert island symbolises not only Philoktetes' alienation, loneliness and animal-like life but also his purity'. See also Fusillo, 23. Segal, 1981, 322-26, emphasises the opposition: savage/civilised. Avery, 1965, 284-5, claims that it was 'the environment combined with his disappointment in Neoptolemos' that made Philoktetes a wild man. For a detailed account of those who argue for a symbolic relation between Philoktetes and his space see Fusillo 38, n. 35.

that the island is cut off from the world). Since it is surrounded by sea, there are no means of approach to and interaction with places near it other than by ship and this is also difficult because of the harsh shoreline (ll.1-2, 688-9).²⁷ No ship is available to Philoktetes and therefore access to his homeland becomes impossible.²⁸ The confinement of the island setting is reinforced by Philoktetes' personal immobility. The hero's lameness restricts him in a visible dramatic space which is itself restricted and the dramatist has to build all relations around this space. This bond between Lemnos and Philoktetes makes the island symbolic of his lack of interaction with people, in contrast to other islands near the Greek mainland with inhabitants and social life.

The latter is the case of Skyros. The adjective περιπρύτου is used to characterise it in l.239 but the difference between the two islands is that Philoktetes' Lemnos is an 'other' as he is, whereas Neoptolemos' island is civilised, despite the fact that it is also rocky (459). In addition, Neoptolemos has access to ships, in contrast to Philoktetes, and thus his homeland is within reach.²⁹

Neoptolemos dominates the area of the *orkhestra* and the visible dramatic space before Philoktetes' entry. The chorus appears to be under the actor's guidance in terms of performance space (cf.148-9 where they are instructed to follow his gestures).³⁰ In terms of dramatic space, they are under Neoptolemos' guidance as his sailors (142-3). As the chorus consents to the plan and Neoptolemos' instructions (151), both the performance and dramatic space in the *orkhestra* are unified: the characters/performers present agree to co-operate against the one who is absent, a co-operation spatially reinforced by the empty

²⁷ Earl, 50, mentions that the word περιπρύτου occurs only in *Philoktetes*. The shore is normally in Greek tragedy a narrative location cf. *A.Hik, IT.* Ussher, on ll.1-2, relates the shore to *Helene* but there the shore belongs to a foreign country, Egypt, which apart from the abundance symbolised by Nile is related to barbarian customs and uncivilised way of thinking in contrast to Greek lifestyle.

²⁸ In l.1213 Philoktetes addresses his *polis* which, however, is far away. Thus, in this play the normal appeal to the *polis*, that is, the public space, to help has turned into a lament because the *polis* is inaccessible to him. Since there is no access to the idealised narrative space of his *polis*, the focus remains on the visible dramatic space. At the end of the play, however, the homeland is presented as accessible in the future, according to Herakles' prediction (1428-30).

²⁹ Another Greek island, which belongs to the same category with Skyros, is Peparethos, the island from where the Merchant is supposed to have come. In addition, Peparethos is a rich island because of the trade and open to interaction with other civilisations, as voyages like this one to Troy indicate in contrast to Lemnos' primitiveness (547-9).

³⁰ For gestures in *Philoktetes* see Kaimio, 1988, 83-5.

stage (even though the chorus pities the absent hero in ll.169-75). This makes Philoktetes' spatial isolation even more striking for the audience.

With the phrase *vûv δὲ* in l.152 the chorus responds to Neoptolemos' invitation to describe the visible location. The focus turns to the cave in which Philoktetes is expected to be. The phrase *ἐνεδρος αὐλαῖς* (153) implies the inevitable and necessary bond between Philoktetes and the cave, which becomes the symbolic space of Philoktetes' isolation and suffering, but also implies his primitive way of living: not in an *oikos* as a citizen but in *αὐλαί* like an animal (153, 160, cf. 1149 used for the animal lairs).³¹ This impression is reinforced by l.158. *Ἐναυλον ἢ θυραῖον* draw attention to Philoktetes' position in relation to the cave. *Ἐναυλος* has a strong impact on the audience's expectations of Philoktetes' physical appearance, since this word can also mean 'dwelling in dens'.³² As in l.153 space gives identity, that is, certain features to the inhabitant. Thus Philoktetes is expected to be a feral creature, since he survives in such an environment (confirmed generally by the apprehensive tone of the exchange between Neoptolemos and the chorus, cf. *δεινός* in l.147 above).³³

The focus narrows to the description of the cave as Neoptolemos shows it to the chorus drawing the audience's attention to it once more. Ll.159-60 (*οἶκον ὁρᾷς τόνδ' ἀμφίθυρον*) raise the question of the way in which the cave was presented as a scenic feature and especially whether both entrances were visible to the audience or only one represented by the door of the *skene*-building.³⁴ This matter is closely related to Philoktetes' first entrance, which I am also going to deal with in the following analysis.

The evidence of the extant tragedies, as has been discussed in the second chapter, leads to the conclusion that the *skene*-building was provided with one

³¹ Cf. ll.1082-3. Cf. *αὐλίον*, *Kykl.*345, 593. The bond between hero and space is argued by Ley, 113, who says that 'there is consistently, in Sophokles' plays, a profound awareness of the traumatic bond between character and *skene*' which he suspects that Sophokles observed in the late work of Aiskhylos. See also n.26 above.

³² See *E.Ph.* 1573.

³³ This is reinforced by Odysseus' insistence on approaching Philoktetes only by means of a trick (107). In l.14 *αἰρήσειν* is also used for animals.

³⁴ For a single opening see Cole, 719, following Dale, 127, who says that one mouth is visible, the normal door-opening (specially made up in the guise of a rocky cave) in the centre of the *skene*. Woodhouse, 240-1, says that the poet 'takes pains in a variety of ways to impress upon the audience a correct idea of the second entrance, which *ex hypothesi* cannot be made visible'. See also Arnott, 1962, 99, Brown, 12, n.52, Ussher, 2, n.15, Wiles, 1997, 153, Jobst, 43-4. For the opposite view see Robinson, 36-7, (both entrances are facing seawards). Fusillo, 31, and n.21, Davidson, 307-315, also follow him.

door at its central point.³⁵ The other two plays produced with *Philoktetes* are unknown and thus their setting and especially their requirement in terms of doors cannot be reconstructed. Based on the evidence of the extant plays, however, it seems likely that *Philoktetes* was also staged with one door, since there is no need, express or implied, for two.³⁶ Ἀμφίθυρον in l.159 clearly means that there were two doors, one on each side, as the preposition ἀμφι- indicates (cf. 19 ἀμφιτρήτος, 17-8 in which the different orientation of the mouths is apparent and Lysias, *Kata Eratosthenous* 15.3 where the reference is clearly to a back door from which the speaker was planning to escape '...ἔμπειρος γὰρ ὦν ἐτύγγανον τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ἦδεν ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος εἶη, ἐδόκει μοι ταύτην πειρᾶσθαι σωθῆναι').³⁷ In his attempt to argue for two visible entrances, Robinson claims that l.161 implies that the speaker can look right through the cave and see that Philoktetes is absent.³⁸ There is, however, no reason to assume that the chorus or in particular the *koryphaios* could see inside the cave, since there is then no justification for the questions of the chorus about the inside of the cave and for Neoptolemos to report it to them (155-62). As the chorus who occupy an area closer to the cave than the auditorium cannot see inside, I consider the assumption that the audience could have a view of inside if both entrances were visible to be implausible.³⁹

As to the question how the cave was scenically represented, and especially if the mouths were represented by scenery, I believe that the *skene*-façade is likely to have had decoration representing a rock because of the insistence on this

³⁵ See chapter 2, pp.49-50. For a discussion of the number of doors see Davidson, 307, n.3.

³⁶ Davidson, 314, also admits this point. Davidson, 315, accepts that the front/rear entrance hypothesis 'does have in its favour that it would at least allow Sophokles to make economical use of an existing arrangement'.

³⁷ The word ἀμφίθυρος also occurs in later sources always for houses with two doors one on each side (see, for example, Photios *Lexikon* s.v. 'Ἀμφίθυρος'). Craik, 1990, 81-3, suggests the, impossible in my view, staging that the roof represented the second mouth of the cave and that Odysseus and Herakles also appeared from there. See n.72 below.

³⁸ Robinson, 38, assumes that 'if two mouths were on stage, perhaps the actor playing Neoptolemos actually passed through the cave from one mouth to the other (between 36 and 38)' and that 'Neoptolemos can have moved from one mouth to the other outside the cave'. But then Neoptolemos could not have been able to give such a detailed account of the contents of the cave. Robinson accepts that 'Dale's conjecture that the cave in Eur.*Kyklops* perhaps meant to parody the *Philoktetes* may be suggestive here' if the *Kyklops* at the end of the play (707) emerged from the second mouth of the cave, which could be pantomime and also parody. But see Brown, 12, n.52. In n.1 Robinson adds that this 'whole suggestion assumes, with Dale, 129, that the *Kyklops* could be dated to 408 BC'. For the date of *Kyklops* see also Seaford, 48-51. For problems related to the staging of *Kyklops* see also Davidson, 314, n.22. Sutton, 102-3, objects to the theory that Euripides appropriated the layout of the cave in *Philoktetes*.

³⁹ Davidson, 312, argues that 'some of the audience sitting towards the sides...could even have seen *into* one or other of the entrances'.

feature, which is the most essential in the identification with the cave (16, 272, 952, 1002, 1081). The form in which this was represented visually is, however, an insoluble question. An elaborate architectural setting representing the cave is not supported by the archaeological evidence. The majority of the tragedies suggest that the architectural façade of a building may have been adequate for their staging and markers were possibly used to distinguish exceptional settings such as this one. Apart from forms of possibly stylised decoration (in the case of the setting of *Philoktetes*, the cave, a setting which may have become common in satyr plays), I do not believe that skenography was so particularised as to allow for the depiction of such complicated scenery, namely two entrances of a cave, rocks and paths, even though some kind of panels indicating the cave symbolically are plausible.⁴⁰ The detailed verbal attention which it receives throughout the play helps the audience add details of the cave, which were not represented visibly, with their imagination.⁴¹ There is an obvious emphasis on the two-mouth cave (apart from l.158 with the deictic τόνδε cf.16, 19, 952) but the two entrances are not mentioned in the detailed accounts of the cave (for example in ll.27-39).⁴²

It is of interest that the stress on the two mouths is confined to parts of the play in which this second mouth could be significant or used as an entrance point. In ll.16 and 19 it belongs to Odysseus' idealised narration and description of the cave.⁴³ Thus the mention of the two mouths as an indication of an

⁴⁰ For the typical setting in satyr plays and the relation to *Philoktetes* see Sutton, 141, and n. 419, Webster, 1970, 8, Ley, 112. Robinson, 36, proposes a screen painted with rocks standing parallel to the back of the stage in which the mouth caves were represented with some degree of realism. Davidson, 308-15, suggests that a screen disguised the doorway and that the two mouths were represented by the opening between the screen ends and the wall of the *skene*-building. Davidson, 308-9, n.7, also considers the possibility of an open portico projecting from the central door. On the use of panels see also Seale, 27-8, Webster, 1970, 66. Ley, 96, says that the cave was indicated by scene-painting. Cf. Jobst, 149-50. However, Ussher, 2, n.15, notes that the extent of fifth-century *skenographia* is doubtful, and its use in this play (to represent a cave or cliff-face) doubted. Brown, 12, remains sceptical even though he does not reject some sort of screen in *Philoktetes*. Wiles, 1997, 16, claims that 'there is no evidence that scene painting was used by Sophokles in *Philoktetes* to create a desert island any more than it was used by Shakespeare in *The Tempest*'.

⁴¹ Arnott, 1962, 99, remarks that 'the setting is described in such detail as to make scenic representation unnecessary'.

⁴² In l.27 οἶον could mean 'of the kind you say' but it does not necessarily imply that Neoptolemos actually sees a cave with two mouths, because the one could easily be at the far end, and thus invisible to the audience (the cave is, therefore, like a tunnel as Woodhouse, 241, Wiles, 1997, 153, also suggest).

⁴³ It is noticeable in ll.32-7 that Odysseus uses words related to houses while Neoptolemos describes the cave as a place for animals. For example, ἄντρον 27; ἐναυλίζοντι 33. See also Inoue, 222.

exceptional cave is justified.⁴⁴ Both these lines and l.158 occur before Philoktetes' entry. If, as I will argue, Philoktetes enters from the cave, the stress is explained because the audience should know about this invisible entrance; the deictic in l.158 leaves no doubt in the spectators' minds that this landward entrance exists, even though they do not see it. Even though, as argued in previous chapters, vases do not necessarily provide reliable evidence of scenic arrangements, the depiction of caves on them with one mouth only reinforces the suggestion that one cave entrance was visible to the audience.⁴⁵

In this case, further innovation may be detected in Sophokles' activation of the area behind the *skene*-building. In tragedy there is normally no contact with this area and no interest is shown in what is happening behind the building because the focus of interest is in front of it, in visible dramatic space, or within it, in the interior. However, Sophokles shows a world, that is, the rest of the island, behind the *skene*-building and presents Philoktetes as coming from there.

A scenic arrangement with one visible cave-mouth has been represented as problematic by advocates of 'the two visible cave-mouths' hypothesis. Their suggestion, however, is open to serious objection. I focus briefly on the most recent account of this hypothesis, Davidson's proposed staging, which presumes a screen covering the *skene*-building. He claims that the side-openings created by the screen represented the cave-mouths. His main argument in support of this suggestion is that Odysseus does not see the cave when he enters.⁴⁶ However, alleging 'visual logic' as an explanation of what a character sees or does not see is contrary to tragic poetic licence.⁴⁷ Moreover, if the cave-openings were at the sides, Neoptolemos and Odysseus might easily have been able to see at least one of the openings as they enter from the *eisodos*. Davidson solves this problem by

⁴⁴ Robinson, 37, bases his argument for the two visible mouths on the assumption that the cave was an exceptional one and that is why Sophokles invested it with two entrances. He suggests 'that a two-mouthed cave, as caves go, had some amenities, was no doubt true, and served dramatically as a characteristically self-excusing detail for Odysseus to mention (16-20)'. I disagree with this argument, since it is stressed throughout the play and especially by Philoktetes himself that this cave is not a proper place to live at all (for example see l.534 *δοικον ἐσοίκτησιν*). In addition, Odysseus' description has the special purpose of presenting the location as an ideal one (cf. for example, ll.43-4 where food and herbs are presented as being easily available). See also Inoue, 222.

⁴⁵ See for example Trendall-Webster, 79-83, figs. III, 3, 13, and 3, 14-5 for representations of *Andromeda* and *Antiope*.

⁴⁶ Davidson, 309-12. Another attempt at a 'realistic' explanation of Odysseus' ignorance of the position of the cave in Sommerstein, 1982, 34-5, who proposes that more than one cave-mouths was visible. But see Davidson, 309, n.10.

⁴⁷ For the 'visual logic' see Davidson, 312.

suggesting that 'they moved immediately into a front central position in relation to the audience without looking in the direction of the screen as they entered'. It may be objected that the audience would have been likely to consider this a more 'flagrant breach of verisimilitude' than Odysseus' difficulty in seeing the cave if he were close to the *eisodos*.⁴⁸ Furthermore, as discussed above, Odysseus' description of the cave is based on what he remembers and his lack of understanding of what Neoptolemos points out (28) may be justified by his fear of Philoktetes, which might keep him away from the possible location of the cave until Neoptolemos confirms that Philoktetes is absent.⁴⁹ Only then does Odysseus move closer. A more serious problem in this staging is the audience's line of vision. Since each side of the audience would be able to see one entrance only of the cave, the spectators sitting at one side would not see the part of the play enacted on the other side. Moreover, if, as Davidson argues, Neoptolemos and Odysseus, being towards the front of the *orkhestra*, cannot see 'at a glance the openings formed by the gap between the screen ends and the front wall of the *skene*-building' the audience occupying the central part of the auditorium would similarly be unable to see either of the mouths.⁵⁰ Thus, all the action focusing strongly on the cave which dominates the performance area with Philoktetes' entries and exits would take place within the visual field of one third of the auditorium, an implausible speculation.

The alignment between imagined topography and the real dimensions of the theatre also needs to be taken into account in the representation of the cave. The implications of ll.26-9 suggest that the cave is to be thought of as elevated (*ἄνωθεν*, *ἐξύπερθε* in ll.28-9) and the *orkhestra* at some distance above sea-level (possibly implied in the adverb *κάτωθεν*), since Neoptolemos and Odysseus would have moved from the sea and the harbour towards the rocky inland.⁵¹ The audience seems to have been invited to transpose the low raised stage into the cliff of the cave even though the latter as depicted in the play would have

⁴⁸ Davidson, 310, argues that Odysseus' dramatic difficulty in seeing the *skene*-building would be difficult to accept since an Athenian audience could not tolerate 'such a flagrant breach of verisimilitude'.

⁴⁹ For Odysseus' description see p.168 above.

⁵⁰ Davidson, 311.

⁵¹ The difference in level is also implied in l.20 *βαῖον δ' ἐνεπρεν*, 23, *προσάντη τόνδε*. See also Jobst, 38-9 for the staging of these lines.

required a considerable height, if it was realistically represented (ll.999-1102 and especially αἰπινὸν βάθρον (1000)).⁵²

The description of the cave becomes interwoven with the question of Philoktetes' absence and his whereabouts at the moment (161). Neoptolemos comments on Philoktetes' absence, supposing that he is looking for food (162, cf.43). This action is presented as if enacted just beyond the visible dramatic space (reinforced by the following phrase πέλας που, 163). Thus, the invisible dramatic space where Philoktetes is becomes the extension of the visible one and the focus of attention as the place from where Philoktetes is to come. The sense of immediacy is reinforced by Neoptolemos' use of the present verb form (163 ὀγμεύει) suggesting that Philoktetes' actions happen as Neoptolemos speaks them. 'Ογμεύει is the first of several references to Philoktetes' lameness which help to create a vivid expectation of how he will make his first entry. In ll.206-7, the chorus describe his painful, creeping progress (κατ' ἀνάγκαν ἔρποντος) and, in ll.215-6, his stumbling in the moments before he appears (πταίων ὑπ' ἀνάγκας).⁵³ Verbal description thus sets the focus on him as sharply as if he were already visible. With increasing insistence, narrative and enactment converge.

The chorus express their compassion for Philoktetes before his entry (180-90). Time moves to the past and Philoktetes' *oikos* is recalled (180-1). The normal setting of tragedy, namely the palace, becomes here a narrative location. His *oikos* was noble, one of the first (ὑστερος οὐδενός, 181). This marks the contrast between Philoktetes' happy past and miserable present in spatial terms: the homeland with the *oikos* is opposed to the humble cave in isolation in Lemnos. The contrast between the civilised, social life represented by the symbol of the *oikos* and the animal-like life of Philoktetes and, thus, the implied contrast between culture and nature is reinforced by the reference to the animals (184-5), who are his only substitutes for contact with human beings and society.⁵⁴ The only kind of human feature is the echo of himself (189-90).

⁵² In ll.999-1002 Philoktetes might be moving to the front edge of the stage and Odysseus' reaction is immediate (1003). Ley, 102, who is against a raised stage argues that Philoktetes 'need not climb very high to justify this threat', but 'he is by his cave'. However, some kind of elevation is required. For a raised stage see also Davidson, 311, n.14. Dale, 127, n.1, Webster, 1970, 8, 66, argue for the use of the *ekkyklema* for this elevation but in my view a raised stage is adequate. Against the *ekkyklema* see Seale, 27.

⁵³ Cf. 701-5 where the chorus refers to Philoktetes' mode of walking without him being visible.

⁵⁴ For the opposition between culture and nature in Wiles' interpretation, see n.4 above.

In the preparation for Philoktetes' entry, attention reverts to visible space. In ll.203-4 the chorus, being possibly closer to the cave than Neoptolemos, since he had invited them to look more closely at it (144-161), hears his cry.⁵⁵ The uncertainty of the location from where the cry is heard is perhaps due to the Echo evoked before as Philoktetes' only companion (204 τῆδε ἢ τῆδε τόπων, with πού reinforcing the vagueness of Philoktetes' exact position). It is too speculative to try to find the points of the performance area, which may correspond to these deictics.⁵⁶

The sound becomes gradually clearer: in l.206 the word ἐτύμα and the repetition of βάλλει are noticeable. The voice is still far (τηλόθεν) but is βαρεῖα (208). The Scholiast explains διάσημα (209) as φανερά.⁵⁷ The comments on the cries are related to a focussing of space;⁵⁸ previously distant and vague, they come gradually closer to the chorus' location in the *orkhestra*. Philoktetes is not 'somewhere' but close by. Since the cries are heard and commented on, they become indicators of the extension of invisible into visible dramatic space.

Ll.208-212 cover this progression of Philoktetes towards the performance area. The use of the present tense of verbs such as θρηνεῖ in l.209 is noticeable, stressing the immediacy of Philoktetes' entry. In l.210 νέας signals a new turn in events. Philoktetes is κοῦκ ἔξεδρος ἀλλ' ἐντοπος. In l.211 with ἐντοπος the distinction of inside-outside and presence-absence comes in the foreground. Since in ll.144 and 157 τόπος indicates the visible surrounding location of the cave his entry is imminent.⁵⁹ Ἔδρα presumably means the cave itself, so Philoktetes is imagined to have entered the landward entrance of the cave (the

⁵⁵ Similar sounds occur in *OK*.1500, *Tr*.787, see Ussher, on l.201. Taplin, 1978, 113, says that 'the sounds are not written in the text, and we have to imagine them from what the chorus sings (with the help of the inhuman cries transcribed during 732-90)'.

⁵⁶ Robinson, 39, says that the chorus 'point in two different directions, perhaps even towards the *eisodoi*'. See, however, Davidson, 313, n.20, who accepts a side-entrance for Philoktetes but admits that the chorus have the role of 'listeners' (cf.119ff) and 'it is therefore plausible for *them* rather than their 'speaking' leader to hear off-stage noises. Again, the apparently *continued* inability of Neoptolemos to hear the sound is not necessarily to be explained in terms of the sound's emanating from one particular direction'.

⁵⁷ Ley, 97, also marks this climax. First the chorus 'hears a sound (201)', then they do not know from which direction it comes (204). Later 'they are clear that they hear the voice of a man... the voice of a wounded man, clearly heard (205/9)'. Taplin, 1977, 372, says that 'the noises or words from off-stage are a good way to build up towards an entry whose significance is the object of tension and uncertainty'.

⁵⁸ In this case the character despite his absence from the performance space is heard in the invisible dramatic space and thus is indirectly present. Different but similar is the case of a character being absent while others comment on him as in ll.1230-1261.

⁵⁹ For τόπος see also ll.280, 1171.

verbal correlation between 1.157 and 1.211 is noticeable).⁶⁰ Philoktetes is imagined to be moving towards the seaward entrance in ll.217-9. Τηλωπόν (216) does not indicate spatial distance (as Ussher's translation, 'echoes in the distance', might imply) but merely suggests that his cry is powerful and, like Philoktetes himself, a δεινόν (218). The interior is thus perceived by the audience as immediately adjacent to the visible dramatic space. Philoktetes progresses in the direction of Neoptolemos and the chorus who are located dramatically between the cave and the coastline (217-8). 'The words in 217 are naturally suggested by the perception that...Philoktetes is approaching the seaward mouth of the cave, whence there is a wide prospect over the Aegean'.⁶¹

This use of the invisible dramatic space during the gradual progression of a character to the visible one seems to be novel in Greek tragedy, where normally the character becomes visible without any detailed interest in how he reached the visible dramatic space. I think that this new technique (νέας in 1.210 may be a self-referential hint at the novelty of the manner of Philoktetes' impending entry) indicates Sophokles' attempt to create a dynamic entry through the interaction between visible and invisible dramatic space in order to stress the central character's first appearance.

Those who argue for a long entry by the *eisodos*- which in my suggested staging remains unused- consider Philoktetes visible in 1.210 thus indicating visually his lameness and suffering, as a pathetic figure.⁶² They suggest that this *eisodos* is reserved for Philoktetes.⁶³ Robinson also claims that the reference to

⁶⁰ I accept Woodhouse' opinion, 244, who translates 'the man is not outside the cave, but now within it'. So Dale, 128. Taplin, 1983, 165, n.21, follows the translation by Jebb, 43, 'the man is not far off, but near'. Ley, 97, translates as 'not away from home, but back here'. Robinson, 39, claims that ἐντοπος is not very precise since it means 'at OC 1457 and *Phil.* 1171 'at hand', within range of, in the same area as, the speaker', which I also accept. However, he adds that the preceding οὐκ ἐξεδρος makes the remark more emphatic, but again not necessarily more precise; 'not away from his home' of Philoktetes need not mean that he is actually *in* his cave'. However, the meaning of ἔδρα confirms that this refers to Philoktetes' presence in the cave.

⁶¹ Woodhouse, 244.

⁶² Robinson, 39, Fusillo, 36. For a side entrance of Philoktetes see also Jebb, 45, Ley, 97, Taplin, 1983, 164-5, 177. Taplin, 177, argues for a 'long painful stage-management' and does not see why 'the chorus should not be supposed to have seen him'. Taplin, 1987, 72, n.11, however, changed his mind and argues again for the entrance from the cave, see n.72 below. Joerden, 1971, 385, also argues for a side entrance despite his argument that in Sophokles the opposition between the interior and one *eisodos* is characteristic of his plays.

⁶³ See Fusillo, 36, who argues that this *eisodos* 'è l'ingresso che porta allo spazio idiosincratico del protagonista, al suo universo desertico'.

ποιμήν ἀγροβάτας (214) is an indication of Philoktetes' appearance.⁶⁴ He argues that 'Philoktetes is visible to the audience stumbling to the sailors, shouting and perhaps gesturing towards their ship' (especially ll.216-7).⁶⁵ I think that Robinson's arguments are unjustified. If Sophokles had used the art of an efficient actor to make Philoktetes' lameness explicit with conventional gestures, in this part of the play, it is strange that the lameness does not seem, from the text at least, to be dramatically exploited at other moments such as the descent from the cave, which stops because of the disease scene and the final exit of both Philoktetes and Neoptolemos.⁶⁶ In both cases Neoptolemos' help is offered (ll.761-2, 1403).⁶⁷ Interestingly, the lameness seems to be deployed as a rhetorical argument to create pity and support from the others rather than for theatrical and visual effect (for example, 468-506, 1187-90).⁶⁸ Furthermore, ll.217-9 describe the generally inhospitable nature of the Lemnian coastline and not the specific harbour where the Greeks have anchored their ships and function better as an indication for the audience to imagine that Philoktetes is moving towards the seaward entrance of the cave. The depiction of Lemnos as a hostile, harsh shore (ἄξενον ὄρμυον) possibly also prepares the audience for a fearsome Philoktetes, since the environment reflects the person (δεινόν, 219). Finally, with regard to Philoktetes' appearance, the focus on it begins after his first entry in l.219 while l.214 is merely a parallel for the cries he shouts.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Robinson, 39-40, thinks that this phrase is related to Philoktetes' dress. He bases his assumption on Dio. Chrys. 59. 2. However, paraphrases by late sources are an unreliable piece of evidence.

⁶⁵ Robinson, 41. Concerning the ship, Robinson, 40, accepts Campbell's translation 'our ships' (217-8). Robinson, 41, says that Philoktetes presumably returns from the other direction [*eisodos*], seeing before him both the sailors and their ship, the sailors closer to him. Ussher on ll.217-8 comments that the chorus does not suppose that Philoktetes 'shouts at sight of *their* ships, and in fact Philoktetes' opening words convey his surprise at seeing strangers'. See also Ussher, on l.467.

⁶⁶ Robinson, 40, relates πταίων to Philoktetes' entry in the Euripidean *Philoktetes*. Robinson, 35, claims that Euripides brought in his Philoktetes limping in 431 B.C. (Dio Chrysostom' paraphrase, *Or.* 59.5). He also refers to Arist.*Akharn.* 411 ff. performed in 426 BC. He concludes that by 409 B.C. Sophokles willingly or unwillingly had fallen in with the new convention and wrote this play with its use in mind. Robinson, in my view, gives much importance to the external evidence of Euripides' *Philoktetes* based on Dio Chrys. 59.2.

⁶⁷ Robinson, 35, argues that Philoktetes is obliged to move in several other parts of the play which do not include significant movement, in my view (notably to get to the rock in l.1000, to shoot at Odysseus in ll.1299-301). However, these lines are not necessarily indicative of long or intense movements: at l.1000 Philoktetes says that he wants to jump from the rock and possibly moves towards the edge of the raised stage but this does not mean that he actually jumps or runs to it. Odysseus' slaves also stop him in l.1003. At l.1299 he wants to shoot Odysseus but Neoptolemos stops him. So, no serious movement is included.

⁶⁸ See also p.189 below for Philoktetes' supplication.

⁶⁹ For Philoktetes' appearance see also pp.183-4 below.

Another argument advanced for a side-entrance by Philoktetes is that, since the cave is declared empty, the entrance cannot be made from there and that such an artificial entry would lead to audience confusion since Sophokles does not warn them about the use of the cave. Furthermore, 'this construction also enables the final entry (of both Philoktetes and Neoptolemos *together*, 675) into the recesses of the cave to be climactic'.⁷⁰ I do not think that Sophokles had to 'warn' the audience of the entrance from the cave any more clearly than he should have done in the case of an entry through the *eisodos*, of which there is no clue. On the contrary, an entry from the cave might have seemed more natural because resident characters frequently make their first entry from the *skene*.⁷¹ The emphasis on the cave and Philoktetes' absence from there functions as a means of showing that he is absent from the place where he should have been present and, thus, that he would appear from there as soon as he comes back. Concerning the climactic entrance at l.675, I believe that it is much more striking if there is a visual opposition between these two scenes: in his first entrance, Philoktetes comes from the cave alone in visible space, but in l.675 he is deceived and enters his private domain with Neoptolemos, who falsely represents himself as a friend. The climax achieved with this staging is more impressive: Neoptolemos manages to break the hero's isolation and invade his refuge at Philoktetes' own invitation (533). It is noticeable that the cave functions as the focus of shifting patterns of alliance between Neoptolemos and Philoktetes or Odysseus. It becomes the space of control according to whose side Neoptolemos is on. When he is allied with Odysseus, Philoktetes is the victim and the cave becomes the embodiment of his weakness. Since there is no door for the cave, Philoktetes has no secure space; the cave might offer defence from the wild animals and the elements but not from men, especially cunning ones such as Odysseus. It becomes the symbol of strength only when Philoktetes and Neoptolemos stand close together and make Odysseus flee (1299-303).

The arguments for an entrance from the central door are based on the assumption that the surprise is greater if the author of the shouts is not seen until l.219. In addition, the chorus uses words of sound and there is no indication that

⁷⁰ Ley, 97. For the artificiality of the entrance from the cave see Robinson's arguments, 36.

⁷¹ See chapter 3, p.85. Woodhouse, 241, n.6, says that the cave really is empty in l.161, and that 'when Philoktetes comes out of it he must have previously got into it at the other end'.

Philoktetes is visible before 1.219.⁷² I agree that the stress on sounds in combination with the lack of any textual reference to Philoktetes' physical appearance until 1.226- which would definitely draw attention since his entrance has been expected for so long and is so well prepared- is the best argument against Philoktetes' side-entrance. The focus on the appearance of both Philoktetes and the chorus immediately after his entrance in 1.219 suggests that the chorus would have commented on his appearance if he were visible earlier.

In addition, Philoktetes' suffering may be stressed acoustically only at the beginning so as to allow a climactic handling of his misery. His suffering is first presented through the cries and comments of the visible characters. Despite several references to it, beginning in 1.226, mainly by Philoktetes himself as part of his pleas for sympathetic treatment from Neoptolemos (258-9, 278-84, 468-72), its visualisation is reserved for the disease scene in the middle of the play (731-55) which leads to the reversal in Neoptolemos' attitude. This is a very crucial dramatic point and I think that Sophokles stressed it by showing Philoktetes' pain in front of the audience. Thus, I argue for a gradual building of the audience's and the characters' emotional response to Philoktetes' disease through the use of acoustic means only at the beginning and then in the moment of extreme dramatic importance through its visualisation.

Apart from these arguments a main reason why the entrance from the cave is more appropriate than a side-entrance is the exceptionally strong bond between Philoktetes and his cave, which amply justifies the hero's entry from there.⁷³ While the *eisodos* supposed to be reserved for Philoktetes' first entry is never used again, the whole play has a clear focus on the cave and Philoktetes either comes into it or leaves it in order to talk with the visitors on the island. He does not make any exit through the *eisodos* apart from the end of the play when he uses the other one. Even when he wants to die, his cave is his shelter and home.

⁷² Taplin, 1977, 174, 297; cf. 1978, 46-7, n.16. Taplin, 1987, 72, n.11, argued again for the entrance from the cave after the remark made by Winnington-Ingram in Taplin, 1983, 177, that 'if Philoktetes entered by an *eisodos*, he would be seen for some little time by the audience, though *not*, apparently, by the Chorus, who use words of sound, but not of sight (201-19)'. Taplin then considered the dramatic technique strange. The argument of the sounds also seems decisive for Wiles, 1997, 153, n.73, Dale, 128, Brown, 12, n.52. Segal, 1977, 92-3, stresses that 'on desolate Lemnos there is sound, but no communication (189, 216). A sound is *heard*, but nothing is *seen*'. The entrances of Herakles and Odysseus who are heard before being seen are also likely not to have occurred through the *eisodos* (from which the entrances are announced in ll.539-41, 1220-1, where the mode of entry is also given). For Herakles' entry from the roof see n.75 below. For Odysseus' entry see the different stagings suggested by Taplin, 1971, 28-9, Craik, 1990, 81-3, Seale, 41.

Furthermore, if Philoktetes enters from the cave, that is, the *skene*-building, the contrast between Neoptolemos and Odysseus on the one hand and Philoktetes on the other is emphasised. The former enter from the side but the principal hero enters through a central point which is also elevated.⁷⁴

The position of the cave as the visual centre of the issues which are problematised arguably justifies Philoktetes' entry from there. It is also the point of intersection between the play's horizontal and vertical axes. The vertical axis confirms that the only inhabitant of this dramatic space, Philoktetes, is also the only representative of the old Greek heroic life. The levels of the axis comprise the cave where Philoktetes lives, the alienated location of the lonely character who still believes in Greek values, the roof where Herakles most likely appears (1409-44), and the Underworld, a narrative location which is the lowest point of the axis and the place where the heroes of the past such as Aias, Akhilles, Antilokhos, Patroklos are (410-30).⁷⁵ Philoktetes is abandoned on the deserted part of Lemnos which seems or is (after the loss of the bow) his death-place and thus equivalent to the Underworld. The elevation of the cave, however, in relation to the *orkhestra* might symbolise Philoktetes' morally higher values. This elevation brings Philoktetes' space closer to the roof, the level of Herakles, than the *orkhestra*, the space of Odysseus. Neoptolemos, climbing to Philoktetes' cave, symbolically makes a moral ascent. Herakles, assuming divine characteristics with his appearance 'on high', predicts a brighter future and glory for Philoktetes and his values (1421-30). Thus, the vertical axis through the figure of Herakles unifies the three dimensions of time. Philoktetes' distant past (before the ten-year period, that is, at the beginning of the expedition, 246-7) was full of happiness, society, civilisation (1027). The reference to Herakles' pyre (724-9) belongs to this period and recalls also the space of Oita, the neighbouring land to Malis, Philoktetes' homeland.⁷⁶ The present is the

⁷³ See also Seale, 31-2.

⁷⁴ Dale, 128, thinks that Philoktetes 'dominates the stage aloft centre, against his proper background of the rugged cave'.

⁷⁵ Herakles' entry from the cave which Woodhouse, 248, assumes would have been anticlimactic. Mastronarde, 1990, 283, considers the use of the crane for Herakles' entry probable.

⁷⁶ Herakles and Oita are tightly connected to the visible dramatic space before Herakles' appearance forming a kind of line between this narrative space and the dramatic space (for example, in ll.262-3, 663-6). See Taplin, 1987, 73-4, for the combination of 'Malis, Spercheius, Trachis and Oita'. Avery, 1965, 291, suggests that Sophokles changed the location of Philoktetes' homeland because of his association with Herakles.

culmination of the past ten years: suffering, isolation, statelessness.⁷⁷ This period, however, is to end, as Herakles' prediction makes certain.⁷⁸

The horizontal axis reinforces Philoktetes' solitude, since one *eisodos* remains unused. The semantic focus is on the other *eisodos* which leads to the harbour and is the entrance point of the on-comer Greeks, that is, Philoktetes' deceivers and representatives of 'new' values, which are in contrast to those of Philoktetes (for example, 1.99). The cave as the point of meeting and tension between wild nature and on-comers from civilised Greece (on the horizontal axis) with the permanence of past, present and future heroic values (on the vertical axis) is the appropriate point for Philoktetes' entry. Neoptolemos' final exit with Philoktetes, the representative of the old beliefs, reinforces the victory of past over present ideology. Their destination, the Greek camp, means that the old system of values can be integrated into and improve the new. This is validated by the figure of Herakles who embodies heroic values on a divine level and motivates Philoktetes to integrate into the new ideology.

Philoktetes, therefore, appears in 1.219 in front of the cave. For the first time in the play the hero who has occupied this place for ten years is visible. The appearance of Philoktetes in front of the cave on the raised stage would indicate his visual dominance of the performance area in contrast to Odysseus' dominant presence in the prologue, during which he remained in the *orkhestra*.⁷⁹

The detailed presentation of the environment in which Philoktetes has been living for ten years and therefore been absorbed by, the way he has been depicted until his entry, and his physical appearance visible to the audience all point to a feral creature. Sophokles, however, plays with the expectations of the chorus and Neoptolemos and the audience (cf. 104-7) and presents a sociable man (cf. 236-8).⁸⁰ Philoktetes appears civilised and noble as if he had never spent these years alone in such a space even though he is afraid himself that his

⁷⁷ In ll. 1025-7 Philoktetes' past status (captain) is contrasted with his present one. See also ll. 170-5, 1018.

⁷⁸ Taplin, 1987, 77, argues that 'the bow of Heracles remains and will remain his (1427, 1432, 1439-40); for all its vicissitudes during the play, it is a constant'.

⁷⁹ The separation between the two- the presence of the one requires the absence of the other- is noticeable in ll. 13, 123-4 and 1.1299, the culmination of this conflict.

⁸⁰ Ussher, on ll. 219-316, says that the chorus and Neoptolemos remain dumb-struck at Philoktetes' sight. Fusillo, 38, remarks that after ten years Philoktetes demonstrates a strong desire for communication, in contrast to Euripides who according to Dio Chrys. Or. 59.7 presents Philoktetes as angry when he finds out that the strangers are Greeks.

appearance could become the reason for lack or even failure of interaction (225-6).⁸¹

Appearance, however, is deceptive when it comes to the Greeks. The costume of the chorus and Neoptolemos seems to have been a typical Greek one (223-4). Perhaps the implication is that Philoktetes expects them to be representatives of the values, appropriate to their nationality: Greek appearance should also mean Greek attitudes. In spatial terms, the land of Greece from where they come is a narrative location which could unite the spaces of Philoktetes and the strangers; because of their nationality Philoktetes wants to establish contact with them and even calls Neoptolemos τέκνον (236). Thus the stage and the *orkhestra* tend to become unified.

The play with the unification of *orkhestra* and stage is interesting for the semantics of the play as it also affects the activation of the relationship between interior and exterior. The borders between *orkhestra* and stage had previously been transcended when Neoptolemos occupied the stage and possibly entered the cave (26-39), but this was a kind of intrusion into Philoktetes' private space, during his absence and not a real unification of the performance area. Now the resident of the cave comes out and establishes an interaction between the two parts of the performance area. This is a reversal of the earlier moment when the inside was reported outside. Now Philoktetes is outside and will call Neoptolemos inside (533-5), at which point the cave becomes the space of the victim of the deception. Later Neoptolemos and Philoktetes will enter the cave together (674-5) and this interaction of actors' spaces will be further reinforced, even though it is ironic. However, the symbolic meaning behind this interaction is that the new configuration created with Neoptolemos' entrance into the cave signals spatially and visually his forthcoming change of attitude: after this entry the deceiver will sympathise with the victim.⁸² The cave plays thus an extremely significant role in the semantics of the play.⁸³

⁸¹ For the feral appearance of Philoktetes cf. ll.184, 1321, as Ussher rightly does on l.226. For the downplay of the character's appearance see chapter 3, p.92.

⁸² This will become apparent in ll.1296-1301 when Neoptolemos re-enters to give Philoktetes his bow. Talking about modern drama Roach, 110, refers to the process of boundary crossings as 'a physical and symbolic action, a movement from space to time'. Neoptolemos crossing the borders enters a new lifestyle and attitude, enters another time.

⁸³ It is true of course that Odysseus, Neoptolemos, the merchant and the chorus come from socially and politically organised cities. This functions as an opposition between the public space of the *orkhestra* and the private space of Philoktetes (especially in 1144-6 where the chorus

Despite Philoktetes' address to both Neoptolemos and the chorus at the beginning of his speech, the chorus does not speak from l.220 to l.317. It is deactivated so that the focus is mainly on the two actors and, indeed, remains silent during most of the play.⁸⁴ Even when the chorus evokes places, these are related to the *mythos* of the play and the lack of lyric spaces may be explained by the emphasis on the visible dramatic space and especially on the chorus' dramatic attachment to the intended deception of Philoktetes. The chorus, therefore, does not distance the audience from the present dramatic situation by referring to spaces discontinuous with the visible dramatic space.⁸⁵ Lyric time is also, consequently, confined to events from the dramatic present (for example, 683-729).

The conversation between Neoptolemos and Philoktetes leads to play with destinations in narrative space (240); Neoptolemos claims to be sailing to Skyros, back 'home', a word which has a particular emotional impact on Philoktetes, who longs for his homeland.⁸⁶ The second place mentioned is Troy, the final destination, but here there is a reversal: it is presented only as the place of the departure of these strangers, and not also the destination, as it actually is (245).⁸⁷ Greek and barbarian narrative spaces are contrasted but here the Greek place is presented as the place of destination, in order to persuade Philoktetes to follow Neoptolemos more easily.

In ll.246-7 Philoktetes briefly recalls events in past narrative time (beginning of the expedition) and space (Troy). Troy was the destination of the first voyage of Philoktetes as well (247). Thus, the same narrative space becomes destination in narrative time but in its two opposite dimensions: as past and as future. Then it was the place of communal expedition. Now it is a space which is hostile to Philoktetes because of the Atreidai (cf. 995-8), even though it is finally to

refers to common good but Philoktetes chooses his isolation instead of the glory both common and personal which the voyage to Troy promises).

⁸⁴ The chorus is also deactivated in ll.403-506 (the cue is to listen to the on-comers, that is, the two actors coming from the *eisodos*), 542-675, 730-826 (even though *παρ' ὑμῖν* in l.743 could be an indirect address to the chorus), 1222-1469. Cf. 865-962 in p.187 below.

⁸⁵ The only lyric space recalled is the bed chamber of Zeus and the example of Ixion but very vaguely (676-82). The chorus focuses on the world of the play in ll.391-402, 689-729; in ll.827-64 the focus is on Philoktetes and so is it during the *kommos*. The contraction of lyric odes is apparent in l.1217 where a *stasimon* is expected after Philoktetes' exit into his cave to die but omitted as Neoptolemos with Odysseus enter immediately.

⁸⁶ Skyros is falsely presented as the destination of Neoptolemos' voyage, for example, in ll.58, 240, 383-4. It becomes the real one in ll.1368, 1401-2.

⁸⁷ The merchant is also presented to have departed from there in l.548 and so are Odysseus and Diomedes according to him in ll.570-1, 593. It is noticeable that all are fictitious departures.

become the space of his cure, physical and social (1332-5, 1378-9).⁸⁸ The same space, therefore, acquires different meanings according to the dimension of time within which it is viewed. However, a space can retain its identity throughout time. In l.265 (ἔρριψαν αἰσχρῶς ὧδ' ἔρημον) the shore, that is, the visible dramatic space (220) becomes narrative space of the past, as Philoktetes recalls the abandonment by the Atreidai. Thus, the same space is presented in both dramatic and narrative time emphasising Philoktetes' abandonment all these years as a constant situation.

In l.250 Neoptolemos claims that he does not know and never heard anything about Philoktetes. The audience, however, knows that Neoptolemos not only has full information about Philoktetes but has even inspected the cave, Philoktetes' private space. The activation of the transverse axis uniting *orkhestra* and auditorium in the knowledge of events shared by Neoptolemos and the audience- who have witnessed the conspiracy between him and Odysseus- in contrast to Philoktetes, who is entirely ignorant of the deception, reinforces and heightens the main character's isolation.⁸⁹

865-973

The passage begins as Philoktetes awakens from his death-like sleep after the spasm of illness. The chorus are instructed by Neoptolemos to stop their song as Philoktetes seems to be moving again (865-6). During his sleep Philoktetes, despite being present, was considered as occupying 'empty' performance space since he was neutralised (821-65).⁹⁰ The refocusing on Philoktetes' space is presented in two stages: Neoptolemos draws the focus of the audience's attention on him with his comments on Philoktetes' movement (865-6) and then

⁸⁸ C.Campbell, 82-3, says that Philoktetes 'has been healed in his social nature, so he can accept physical healing, and it is in the logic of his plight that it will happen at Troy when he rejoins the Greek politic body which had cut him off just as in despair he used to want to cut off his own foot'. Knox, 1979, 266, associates the integration and restoration to proper status which are achieved at the end of some tragedies (as *Ion*) with the happy ending in comedy.

⁸⁹ The same play with the audience's knowledge of the truth hidden from Philoktetes is apparent in the play with the destination of the voyage (for example, see ll.530-3). See also ll.536-8 where Philoktetes says that the cave is unbearable for anybody to see but the audience knows that Neoptolemos has already seen inside it. This internal audience space is different from external audience space and time, for examples of which see Ussher, on ll.133-4, Fusillo, 43, n.47, Matthiessen, 25, Wiles, 2000, 175-6.

⁹⁰ The death-like sleep on stage which Sophokles reserves for Philoktetes after the disease scene is a kind of neutralisation which is marked with θανάσιμον in l.819 and the address to the earth, cf. the cancellation of presence with οὐδέν ἐμὶ in l.1217 before Philoktetes' entrance to the cave in order to die- a 'cancelled death'.

Philoktetes himself addresses the daylight, which is a normal marker of reoccupation (867).⁹¹

Neoptolemos' instruction to the chorus to keep silent is also a way of setting the focus on the two actors, on Neoptolemos' revelation of the plan and Philoktetes' reaction to his betrayal. The chorus will intervene only in distich (963-4) marking the end of Philoktetes' powerful *rhesis* to vocalise their own doubts about what to do, doubts which, as it turns out, are echoed in Neoptolemos' tortured indecision.

After Philoktetes recovers, he praises Neoptolemos and the chorus for their presence there, in contrast with the Atreidai who abandoned him ten years ago (869-76). The spatial proximity between Neoptolemos and Philoktetes corresponds to support and help between the characters which culminates in the offer of physical contact (886-7). It is, however, cancelled, since Philoktetes is capable of moving on his own. Neoptolemos' suggestion to ask the sailors for help (887, the use of the deictic οἶδε shifts the focus of attention temporarily onto the chorus) is against the convention that the chorus do not leave the *orkhestra*, and thus is rejected.⁹² In performance terms the deactivation of the chorus continues, even though there was a chance for them to participate in the action. The effect and purpose is to highlight the special bond between Neoptolemos and Philoktetes.

The focus remains on the two actors and their attempt to move together. They form a visual unit but not a real one in terms of attitude, since Neoptolemos is not Philoktetes' friend, as the lonely hero thinks. Even though the actors' spaces seem unified because of their spatial proximity, dramatic space is in disjunction with the performance space. Nevertheless, the physical interaction between them justifies Neoptolemos' dilemma. As Neoptolemos offers Philoktetes help, he finds it increasingly difficult to tolerate the deceit. Philoktetes is trying to stand up as he has learnt how to raise himself after years without anyone to help (894, the pathetic detail of τὸ σύννηθες ἔθος is noticeable). Looking at him, Neoptolemos suddenly stops and the movement remains incomplete (895). Thus, physical contact is avoided even in this scene where Sophokles carefully manipulates our expectation of it.

⁹¹ For 'refocusing' see chapter 3, p.74.

The stop is indicated with the exclamation παπαῖ (895) by Neoptolemos, which in spatial terms introduces a split between Philoktetes and Neoptolemos and the spaces they occupy. From now on Neoptolemos seems introverted in his own space and, even though he does not keep silent, he does not seem to hear Philoktetes or take him into account. The exclamation, thus, does not function as an aside (Philoktetes immediately responds with a question, 896) but as a marker of this gradual separation which will culminate after Neoptolemos' revelation (915).⁹³ Philoktetes attempts to regain contact but Neoptolemos does not address him directly again until l.913. He only addresses Zeus, another indication of introverted space (908). When Philoktetes in l.910 uses the third person with the deictic which implies a break in the contact between the two characters- even though in terms of performance space he must be close to Neoptolemos- the disjunction between dramatic and performance space includes Philoktetes' space. Thus, the spatial proximity is an ironic feature. In terms of dramatic space there is disconnection between them.⁹⁴ It has, however, not yet reached its climax; Philoktetes tries to communicate with Neoptolemos and responds with the same tender address 'τέκνον' (914) as previously in l.898. The revelation of the real place of the destination, however, creates a new crisis (915-6), even though the *antilabai* in ll.917-22 and the use of the second person show that Neoptolemos tries to re-establish direct contact with Philoktetes after his deceit.

When the intended destination becomes known, Neoptolemos tries to explain to Philoktetes the reasons why it is obligatory to sail there (919-20). Troy will be the place where Philoktetes will find cure and glory through its occupation (finally revealed in authoritative detail by Herakles in ll.1329-47). Even though Troy means reintegration to the Greek army and camp, the fact that it also includes reintegration into society is omitted because for Philoktetes this journey is negative and thus what is stressed is that Troy is equivalent to the Atreidai.⁹⁵

⁹² For this convention see also p.168 above. Arnott, 1962, 36, remarks that the refusal of the chorus seems unnatural, and dramatically awkward... this 'may reflect the poet's desire to keep the chorus together in the orchestra as much as possible'. Cf. 464-5, 1061, 1178-80.

⁹³ Bain, 1977, 86, discusses the possibility of an aside. He says that for true feelings like 895 Sophokles 'does not avail himself of the convention'.

⁹⁴ Ley, 101, assumes that Neoptolemos must have moved by, or at 908/9, significantly. However, in my view, these lines are an indication only of disconnection, not movement.

⁹⁵ The camp is hostile for Neoptolemos falsely in ll.374, 382-390, 454-5, but really in ll.1226-60. In l.1258 Odysseus' exit marks the friction between the Greek camp which he represents and Neoptolemos.

In l.920 Neoptolemos stresses that the occupation of Troy and its capture requires both him and Philoktetes. The unification of space between the two characters expands and becomes a necessity in narrative space, although in dramatic space it seems unlikely.⁹⁶ In l.923 Neoptolemos becomes a 'stranger' as when Philoktetes first met him (219). The affectionate addresses stop. The bow becomes the visual symbol of this separation (924). It was previously in Philoktetes' space and was a sign of his power and a means of survival. When he handed it to Neoptolemos, he thought that it remained in his space of control and that it was moving to the hands of a friend (776). It has, however, now become part of the space, which Neoptolemos occupies, and which, despite the fact that it is part of the performance area shared by Philoktetes, has become inimical for the latter. Thus, the position of the bow in space reinforces the configuration of actors' spaces and the change in the spatial dynamics.

Neoptolemos' rejection of the appeal to return the bow (925-6) leads to Philoktetes' isolation after this betrayal. The disconnection between Philoktetes and Neoptolemos reaches its culmination as Neoptolemos is addressed as πῦρ, δῆμα, πανουργίας δεινῆς τέχνημ' ἔχθιστον (927-8) at the beginning of a monologue, which *per se* involves disconnection.⁹⁷ The uncivilised, animal-like one (implied in δῆμα) is found to be Neoptolemos, not Philoktetes, while πανουργίας δεινῆς τέχνημ' ἔχθιστον allies these characteristics with the immoral cleverness represented by Odysseus. The spatial semantics are subverted: Philoktetes has lived in this harsh, primitive location for so long but remained noble, while Neoptolemos who comes from civilised Greece is a deceiver.

Despite his frustration, Philoktetes does not hesitate to exploit any means of persuasion and become a suppliant. L.930 implies that he is on his knees as both the suppliant position and his illness would require. While this indicates in visual terms his weakness in dramatic space, Philoktetes dominates the performance space with his monologue and the focus of attention on him. However, his attempt to retain contact in order to get his bow back is futile. Even this supplication scene is deprived of physical contact.⁹⁸ Neoptolemos does not

⁹⁶ Cf. ll.840-1. The only time the unification in narrative space is threatened is in ll.1061-2.

⁹⁷ Ussher on ll.927-9 says that δῆμα is 'terror' of a fear-inspiring animal (cf. E.*Her.* 700).

⁹⁸ The lack of contact is also obvious in ll.470-2, in the disease scene in l.761 until the bow is given in l.776 and in ll.1181-2 where the appeal to the chorus is rejected again.

respond at all.⁹⁹ This silence is an ingenious technique to neutralise Neoptolemos (but not the bow he holds) so that the focus remains on Philoktetes. The bow receives attention in l.943 in which the previous owner, Herakles, is contrasted with its future owners, the Atreidai (934-5). The bow, therefore, becomes a symbol of the contrast between past and future.

The opposition between the lonely hero on the stage and the crowd in the *orkhestra* (Neoptolemos and the chorus) must have been very striking to the audience and marks in visual terms Philoktetes' disassociation from the civilised world represented by the on-comers from the harbour.¹⁰⁰ The lack of any interaction with Neoptolemos (934-5) makes Philoktetes turn to the natural surroundings as his only interlocutors.¹⁰¹ The 'cry for help' 'addressed to the local inhabitants or neighbours is a common-place of Greek drama but, Philoktetes, in utter isolation, can appeal only to nature and wild beasts'.¹⁰² The surroundings become the echo of his isolation and helplessness (936-9). He addresses the harbours (a possible hint at the narrative space of the harbour which is equated with his unfulfilled voyages), the mountain (wild) animals, his only companions, the rocks (one of which is his cave) (936-7).¹⁰³ In this environment animals and nature replace the role of the human beings in society. The special bond between Philoktetes and the dramatic space is confirmed once more.

Ley assumes that this appeal was performed with movements in visible dramatic space by the actor playing Philoktetes. In his proposed staging 'Philoktetes turns towards the painted scene-building and the side-exits that lead to the anchorage(s)... At the very climax of this tour-de-force, Philoktetes finally turns again towards, and probably approaches, the cave, which is addressed directly (952/3). He is at *or* by *or* even in the cave at 954'.¹⁰⁴ I do not think that

⁹⁹ In l.935 Ussher says that Neoptolemos turns his face away as the audience see. For the silence and its semantics here see Taplin, 1971, 34.

¹⁰⁰ A similar example is the scene with the Merchant during which Neoptolemos, the Merchant, his companion and the chorus are in the *orkhestra* while Philoktetes is alone on the stage (542-627).

¹⁰¹ See Fusillo, 48-50, who refers to this 'introversion'. He says, 51, that Philoktetes combines traces of the earlier Sophokles, centred on the monological solitude of the hero, with the intersubjective tendency of the latest Sophokles. Cf. also ll.986-8, where Odysseus' violence makes Philoktetes turn again to the surroundings, since no friend is around for him.

¹⁰² Ussher, on ll.936-9. Cf. Taplin, 1971, 34.

¹⁰³ Taplin, 1978, 50, says that 'mankind- not only the worst, Odysseus, but also the best, Achilles- has let him down: so Philoktetes turns to the rocks and winds as more constant'. Long, 111, remarks that in his *apostrophe* to the animals Philoktetes uses 'more subtle expression', as the wild creatures form fundamental part of Philoktetes' life.

¹⁰⁴ See Ley, 101.

Philoktetes would have turned and actually enacted this 'tour' in movements (cf. the deictic τῷδε in l.954 which indicates that Philoktetes is showing the cave rather than approaching it). Apart from the general difficulty in reconstructing the exact movements and gestures of the performers in fifth-century tragedy, especially in the delivery of monologues, it is unlikely that, except for a few gestures, such an increased focus on movement would be necessary. On the contrary, Philoktetes' immobility would demonstrate his miserable condition more strikingly and have a stronger emotional effect on the audience.

Despite the appeal to nature, Philoktetes does not give up and tries to re-establish the contact with Neoptolemos but in vain (950-1). The comments on Neoptolemos' silence make it even more striking and, thus, indirectly (951) the focus returns to him. In spatial terms this suggests that, even though Neoptolemos occupies his introverted space, he has not been neutralised dramatically.¹⁰⁵

The lack of interaction with Neoptolemos makes Philoktetes turn to the cave again, indicating another aspect of it, namely that of the place where wild animals will cause his death.¹⁰⁶ This death, however, strikingly never occurs, even though a suicide is almost expected after Philoktetes' exit into the cave in l.1216 (οὐδὲν εἰμὶ is a noticeable repetition of l.951). The association of the cave with the animals is reinforced by its description as αὔλιον (954).¹⁰⁷ The contrast with the first exit into the cave is significant. Philoktetes and Neoptolemos exited together in l.675 after a dialogue, which set the emphasis on the bow. Philoktetes still had control of his bow and held it, since he later handed it to Neoptolemos (775-6). Thus, in the first exit into the cave, Philoktetes was presented as the hunter. This time Philoktetes will enter the cave without his bow. The image is reversed in visual terms: Philoktetes becomes the hunted, the victim of the animals (953-8).

¹⁰⁵ Another example of the same kind are the comments on Philoktetes' silence before the disease scene reaches its climax (especially l.731) and the comments on Philoktetes' sleep after it (821-5). Neoptolemos in this scene seems disconnected; only in ll.963-5 does it become clear that he is, after all, influenced by Philoktetes' appeal.

¹⁰⁶ Greengard, 47, says that the cave functions as 'surrogate grave'. The underworld/Hades is mentioned several times in this play, for example, in ll.1155-9, 1211, 1349. Inoue, 219, n.8, remarks that οἶκησιν (31, one of the two *lectiones* in 534) used for Philoktetes' 'home' on Lemnos only appears in *Antig.* 892, where it is her tomb-like chamber.

¹⁰⁷ Woodhouse, 247, suggests here an impossible staging, assuming that in l.952 'Philoktetes gropes his way, a broken pathetic figure, up the path'. This is because he assumes that Philoktetes at 760 reaches the bottom of the path.

Philoktetes ends this emotional monologue with an appeal or, rather, a curse to see whether Neoptolemos will relent (961-2). The second person is used again implying that interaction is requested. At this crucial moment the dramatist prefers to maintain and prolong the tension between the actors; the focus moves to the chorus in the *orkhestra*: the chorus intervene through their *koryphaios*, who speaks instead of Neoptolemos.¹⁰⁸

Neoptolemos speaks in l.966. He explains that the turning in his soul had begun before (πάλαι).¹⁰⁹ In dramatic terms this gives Philoktetes the chance to try once more to bridge the gap with Neoptolemos, as the second person and the affectionate address (ὦ παῖ) indicate (967). However, it is noticeable that Neoptolemos never uses the second person when he refers to Philoktetes; in l.966 he uses the third person with the deictic τοῦδε [ἄνδρὸς], which implies the continuation of the distance and the separation between the two characters.

At this difficult moment Neoptolemos recalls Skyros. The first voyage from there to Troy seems a journey which should not have been made (969-70). This reference to narrative space far away is possibly related to the fact that there is no resolution in the visible dramatic space. Thus as an escape from the difficulties in visible dramatic space, Neoptolemos retreats into the narrative space of his birthplace. In l.973, however, Philoktetes, in his attempt to convince Neoptolemos, repeats his plea to Neoptolemos to return the bow and sail away and thus causes a refocusing on the present dramatic time and space just before Odysseus' sudden entry.

The play between proxemic spaces exemplified in this passage shows how the performers' bodies are activated within space as a means to create meaning. When the contact between the characters breaks down, the focus turns to the physical surroundings which replace temporarily human communication and emphasise the main character's inevitable isolation.

¹⁰⁸ Ussher on l.934 remarks rightly that Neoptolemos in this following dialogue with the chorus and Philoktetes (965-6), (969-70) speaks to himself. He does not address anybody and basically focuses on himself only.

¹⁰⁹ Fusillo, 51, detects its 'retroactive value'.

Conclusion

Drama and its reflection in theory will continue to evolve, its elements making an infinity of fresh patterns. And the debate will continue. There is no end in sight, no final resting point when the last word will have been spoken.

Brandt, xxii

I conclude this thesis with a brief comparison of the three selected plays and a general consideration of the handling of space by the three dramatists. The earliest extant tragedy, *Persai*, includes, in an already developed or sometimes less elaborate form, spatial phenomena which become the norm in later tragedies. Principally perhaps because of phenomena such as the consistent and sustained identification of the *skene*-building with a specific location from the beginning of the play, *Persai* has unjustly been regarded as primitive. A consideration of the handling of the axes and the interactions between kinds of spaces indicates, however, a sophisticated use of space in this play. The activation of the three axes demonstrates Aiskhylos' interest in their handling, especially as indication of the contrast between Dareios and Xerxes and the lifestyles they represent, even though a more dynamic handling of their interrelations (for example, the manipulation of the *skene*-building as the centre of convergence of the axes and the use of the interior interactively with the exterior) is not evident. Furthermore, the dynamic interweaving of narrative and dramatic spaces and the convergence between the narrative and performance space of Athens indicate that the focus on the interaction between kinds of spaces was, already in 472 BC, characteristic of the ways in which Aiskhylos manipulated space.

Hippolytos belongs to the category of the tragedies which display a fully developed sense of uniformly maintained location. The *skene*-building throughout represents the palace, the setting common in most tragedies. The interweaving between interior and exterior is more dynamic than in *Persai*. Hippolytos, as Theseus' son, belongs to the palace at the beginning of the play, even though he is associated with the narrative space of the meadow. The opposition between interior and exterior acquires particular meaning in this play, symbolising the contrast between Phaidra and Hippolytos and the dominant theme of private versus public space. Hippolytos' exclusion from the interior is

expressed spatially by the closing of the door of the *skene*-building. The horizontal axis also plays a significant role as a visualisation of Hippolytos' change of fate. While, at the beginning, he enters from the place of his happiness, the meadow, he finally becomes excluded from the palace and exits through the *eisodos* which leads to his exile and exceptional accident.

Philoktetes shows how spatial phenomena and techniques which appear developed from *Persai* to *Hippolytos* are reversed or manipulated in a different, innovative way to emphasise meaning. Sophokles' assured and nuanced handling of spatial opportunities and interrelationships in *Philoktetes* seems directed above all towards depicting the isolation of Philoktetes himself. The narrative space of exclusion and suffering (after the accident) in *Hippolytos* becomes here the visible dramatic space which functions as a projection of the character and the cave as the setting replaces the palace. The interior cannot function as a private domain in the same way as in *Hippolytos* because of the lack of the door.¹ There is no *polis* or *oikos* for Philoktetes on Lemnos. He is not even a citizen, but lives cut off from all social activities. The lack of narrative locations close to Lemnos points in the same direction. One *eisodos* remains unused. In contrast to *Persai* and *Hippolytos* where the *eisodoi* symbolise the opposition between clearly distinct spaces, in *Philoktetes* the contrast lies between the 'far' spaces of the destinations of the voyages to which the harbour leads (Troy and Greece). The space Philoktetes is bound with is the cave which receives particular focus as the place where the three axes join. This focus is reinforced by Philoktetes' novel entry from there with the dynamic handling of invisible dramatic and visible dramatic spaces. Another sophisticated handling of spaces is indicated with Neoptolemos' movements between the spaces of Philoktetes and Odysseus, contrasting with the clear distinction between Dareios' and Xerxes' spaces in *Persai* (*skene*-building and *orkhestra* respectively).

As *Philoktetes* begins from where *Hippolytos* ends, a space of exclusion which, in contrast to *Hippolytos*, is visible, the end is also reversed: in *Philoktetes* there is a progression from the space of exclusion towards the narrative space of reintegration into society. In contrast to the destruction of the Persian power which marks the end of the *Persai*, in *Philoktetes* the fusion between the old and new value-systems leads to a seemingly optimistic ending

and the prospect that old values can successfully integrate with the new. The idealised description of the visible dramatic space just before Philoktetes' final exit with Neoptolemos recalls the description of Hippolytos' meadow. In this play the suffering hero does not find death as Hippolytos but cure and, as he looks for the last time on the harsh world he has inhabited, his happiness finds expression in the transformation of the visible dramatic space into an idealised one recalling the distanced depiction of lyric spaces.

These exemplifying cases and the spatial phenomena examined in them do not, of course, claim to be a comprehensive analysis of the spatial categories in Greek tragedy. The selected passages merely offer a representative sampling of the wide range of possibilities which the plays offer. A brief, concluding overview of the use of tragic space by the three dramatists within the broader frame of the appraisal of space proposed in the earlier chapters may contribute towards an understanding of its richness.

The only detailed general comparison of the use of space in the three dramatists is found in Joerden.² In what follows I offer a general account of the handling of space in the three tragedians, reappraising where appropriate some of Joerden's views.

The manipulation of tragic space in the three dramatists indicates that the differences among them are mainly ones of degree rather than quality and that analyses which label Aiskhylos as 'primitive' in comparison with Sophokles and Euripides especially are likely to be over-simplified.³ There are admittedly several differences between Aiskhylos' first extant plays and Sophokles' and, especially, Euripides' later productions.⁴ When, however, we analyse the early

¹ The public tone of the play in which there is no female character and no murder or suicide also justifies this handling of the interior.

² Joerden, 1960; 1971, 369-412. He bases his analysis on systems of conflicts developing from Aiskhylos to Euripides. His dissertation and subsequent article seem not to have received any attention apart from Imhof, 337-9 (basically a summary of Joerden's dissertation), Taplin, 1977, 450-1, Wiles, 1997, 134-5, and Van Looy, 210-13, who makes a summary of *Bauformen*. None of these offers a review of Joerden's beliefs. Wiles, 1997, does not draw any general distinction among the dramatists. Goward refers to the narrative and lyric parts of tragedy making comparisons among the tragedians but without references to space *per se*. Hourmouziades deals with Euripides mainly with passing references to the other dramatists. Taplin, 1977, focuses on the stagecraft of Aiskhylos with examples from the other two dramatists, while Taplin, 1978, discusses issues of staging based on particular plays.

³ For example, Joerden, 1971, 389-401, considers 'flexibility' in the handling of tragic space purely Euripidean. Joerden's model deprives both Aiskhylos and Sophokles of any dynamic handling of tragic space.

⁴ Arist. *Batr.* 754-1523 indicates that since antiquity the contrast between the dramatists was more easily achieved with a comparison between Aiskhylos and Euripides.

extant plays of Sophokles and Euripides in comparison with the *Oresteia* or contrast later Sophoklean with later Euripidean plays, the distinctions become rather more blurred. The inevitable influence which one dramatist had on the other, since they all wrote in approximately the same period, makes it usually difficult to discern who is the innovator and who the follower.⁵ Apart from the problem of the limited number of extant plays in relation to the total output of the fifth century, those few which survive are often of uncertain date (e.g. *S.El.* and *E.El.*). Moreover, the greater number of surviving plays by Euripides in contrast to seven only by each of the other two makes any comparison uneven. It is thus wiser not to draw too definite distinctions between the tragedians but rather to approach the gradual development in the handling of space as evidenced in the surviving plays with an awareness of the difficulties and restrictions sketched above.

The vagueness of the setting in the earliest extant plays (*Persai*, *Hepta*, *A.Hik.*) is gradually replaced by more detailed accounts (for example, those accounts of the palace in *Ag.* 18, 37-8 (guard), 157, 257 (*Klytaimnestra*), 1090-2, 1186-90, 1291-1309 (*Kassandra*), 1532-3 (chorus)) which culminate in the elaborate descriptions of the temples in *IT.* and *Ion* and the palace in *Orestes*.⁶ The reason for this vagueness in the early plays, as has been suggested, may be their predominant interest in the action which takes place in near or far narrative spaces. Visible characters do not take initiatives but rather reflect on the news of the ominous or exciting events taking place there (*Persai*, *Hepta*, *A.Hik.*). The tradition of epic narrative remained strong within tragedy until the end of the fifth century, even though the visible dramatic spaces receive progressively greater attention.

Foreign settings in distant places are favoured by Euripides (*IT.*, *Hel.*) but Aiskhylos also includes them (*Persai*).⁷ The extant plays of Sophokles take place in Greece (even in the marginal case of Lemnos which still, however, lies within Greek boundaries). Exceptional dramatic settings require more detailed attention and occur in Sophokles and Euripides, especially in the later fifth century (*E.El.*, *Phil.*, *OK.*).

⁵ One of the possibilities which is also likely is that none of them is an innovator but another author whose works are lost.

⁶ See Hourmouziades, 44-53, on *Helene*, *IT.*.

⁷ Euripides particularly likes placing traditional stories in new settings. See *E.El.* in Appendix I, p.203 below.

The changes of scene which feature in earlier extant plays, themselves arguably a reflex of the topographical freedom of narrative poetry, disappear later as the *skene*-building becomes fixed and a *sine qua non* in the dramatic action. In *Persai*, *Hepta*, *A. Hik.* the *skene*-building is identified specifically only at the climax of the play but in the *Oresteia* its consistent use- including its interior- from the beginning of *Ag.* co-exists with the scene-change in *Eum.*⁸ In later plays, the interest in its detailed description and the dramatic use of all its areas become more apparent (e.g. *Phil.*, *Phoi.*, *Or.* with dramatic activation of the interior, the door and the roof).⁹

The creation of verbal landscapes and the use of detailed descriptions of the surroundings especially in the prologues is first apparent in *Eumenides* but are more common in Sophokles (e.g. *El.*, *Phil.*). Euripides begins his plays with a wider perspective, offering details of the past and future action with significant narrative spaces which are dominant throughout the plays (e.g. *Μακρὰ* in *Ion*) and then narrows the focus to the visible dramatic space but without many details of its location and surroundings (e.g. *Med.*). These locations are often presented by gods who appear at the beginning of the play, possibly at ground level, and present the story as omniscient characters.¹⁰ At the end, gods may reappear in grandeur to establish a cult or predict future events which draw a line between the dramatic present and the audience's external time, especially through *aitia*.¹¹ This stands in clear contrast to Sophoklean endings, in which the only 'god' on high, Herakles in *Phil.*, despite resembling a *deus ex machina*, occupies an ambivalent position between human and divine level and refers to Philoktetes' and Neoptolemos' future without extending his prediction further. Traces of Euripides-type endings can, however, be found in the end of Aiskhylos' *Eum.* in which there is clear attempt to relate the events of the play to audience external time.

The bond between character and space is a feature of early plays (Eteokles with his presence in visible dramatic space in most of *Hepta* is depicted as a

⁸ For *Kho.* see chapter 3, p.78 above.

⁹ For the activation of the area beyond the interior see chapter 6, p.174. The use of the *skene*-building played a significant role in the dynamics of space, since one building offered the opportunity to use many areas in a spectacular way and give them meaning accordingly (as in the end of *Medeia* and *Orestes*).

¹⁰ For the use of the roof see chapter 5, p.158, n.132. For the contrast between the use of space in the three dramatists' prologues see Katsouris, 48-61.

symbol of Thebes).¹² When the *skene*-building becomes dramatically identified (with a palace, for example) at the beginning of the plays, this bond acquires a more specific spatial expression as an association between *skene*-building and its resident character (e.g. Klytaimnestra dominates the interior in *Ag.*) with a culmination in later plays, especially those of Sophokles, in which the detailed account of the visible dramatic setting functions as an introduction to or symbol of the character (*Phil.*, *OK.*).

The immobility of a character- his constant presence in his particular personal space in visible dramatic space- is a way of reinforcing such a bond. This is common in Sophokles where it may indicate a lack of psychological flexibility which leads to separation from the community (*El.*, *Phil.*). Another feature found in Sophokles and Euripides but not used by Aiskhylos, other than in the case of Kassandra in *Ag.*, is the introversion of the character and the creation of his own private space.

The increasing deactivation of the chorus from the dramatic action is clearly detectable in the surviving plays. Choral interventions become fewer in the tragedies written towards the end of the fifth century (*Phil.*, *Or.*), even though there are occasions in which the chorus create dramatic space (e.g. in *Bakkhai* the chorus bring the space of Dionysos' cult with it).¹³ Since the chorus' participation in the dramatic action is gradually restricted (even though it still participates in it, especially in Sophokles, for example, in *Trakh.*, *Phil.*), lyric spaces appear more in Sophokles and Euripides than in Aiskhylos (only in *Kho.*). Distancing through the odes is, however, apparent in all three dramatists.¹⁴ Euripides uses it most in tragedies with two parts (e.g. *Andr.*, *Hek.*, *Hipp.*). Lyricised narrative spaces are frequent in all tragedians' odes and especially in Euripides, offering a wider perspective to the events of the play (*Hipp.*).

The interior of the *skene*-building is used for the first time in the extant plays in *Agamemnon*.¹⁵ In later tragedies the use of the interior as a place of dramatic

¹¹ For examples see Barrett, on ll.1423-30. For the difference between aetiologies and anachronisms see Taplin, 1986, 172.

¹² Joerden, 1960, 85-94, considers the bond of space- character- aim Sophoklean only.

¹³ For the different use of the chorus in the plays see Dale, 216-9.

¹⁴ Joerden omits any reference to lyric space and the chorus in both his works.

¹⁵ Joerden, 1971, 374, uses the term 'hinterszenischer Raum' without any distinction between interior and *eisodoi* (he mentions the word 'hyposkenion' for the interior but does not use it consistently when he analyses the plays). In *Aias* the interior already has an important dramatic role but the date of this play is disputable. See chapter 2, p.60, n.193. In *Ag.* the interior is the place of political decisions, while the *skene*-building, the palace, becomes separate from the

action becomes the norm. A semantic effect is that the distinction between public and private spaces becomes clearer with the use of the interior as the space of domestic affairs opposed to the civic area represented by the exterior. While at this stage the use of the interior is restricted to presentation of tableaux without any interest in the gradual progression of the characters towards exterior space, it later becomes dynamic, with interaction between invisible dramatic and visible dramatic spaces (*Phil.*). The dialogue between characters in the interior and those in the exterior also reinforces this continuity (*S.El.*).¹⁶

Both *eisodoi* are used from the *Persai* onwards.¹⁷ Narrative spaces do not only increase numerically as tragedy develops but they also become more tightly interwoven with the visible dramatic space. In *Persai*, despite the interaction between spaces because of the focus on Xerxes' journey back home, the far narrative and the visible dramatic spaces form separate areas until they are united in the person of Xerxes. The actual distance of the near narrative location of the palace and the city also remains vague. Later, however, there is dynamic intermingling of narrative and visible dramatic spaces through continuity and especially in scenes of progression of characters in narrative spaces simultaneously with the visible dramatic action (the earliest example is found in *A.Hik.*).¹⁸ By restricting this intermingling to conflict patterns Joerden often neglects significant narrative spaces and deprives Aiskhylean and Sophoklean plays of their dynamic use of space while over-emphasising Euripides' 'looseness' in contrast to Aiskhylos' and Sophokles' rigidity.¹⁹

orkhestra; Klytaimnestra makes her decisions and acts while the chorus merely attends as a spectator. Their role is restricted to comments which, however, do not have any effect on her plans. The significant events which take place in the interior- culminating in Agamemnon's murder- give it an identity of its own.

¹⁶ See App.I, pp.204-5 below.

¹⁷ Joerden, 1960, 143-48, argues for one *eisodos* and no *skene*-building for *Persai* and *Hepta* thus detecting a conflict between the visible dramatic space and one narrative space, while from *A.Hiketides* onwards (which he dates around 463 BC) the two *eisodoi* and the *skene*-building create the opportunity for the dramatic opposition of two narrative spaces. However, in *Persai* the entry through one *eisodos* makes the allocation of spaces rather unclear. See chapter 4, p.106, n.5.

¹⁸ Joerden, 1960, 85-94, refers to a few static ways in which the invisible interacts with visible space but without any particular focus on the dynamics of their interrelation. See his tables *ibid.*207-13.

¹⁹ An example of negligence of narrative spaces is the omission of the death-chamber in his analysis of *Antig.* In his attempt to show that Aiskhylos is more rigid than Sophokles Joerden assumes that in Aiskhylos the contrast between interior and one *eisodos* is not simultaneous- as in Sophokles- but sequential; for example, he argues, 1971, 375, that in *Ag.* the opposition between visible dramatic space and Troy ends with Agamemnon's return (Troy 'expires') and the conflict lies between the interior and the visible dramatic space (*Ag.*783ff). However, Joerden, 1960, 111-2, admits that the pattern 'Apollo-Kassandra-Troy' remains in Kassandra's speeches.

The convention of Messenger speeches which offer long reports of the events in far or near narrative spaces is used by all dramatists. This was an epic feature which becomes conventional and, despite the tendency towards increased realism as the fifth century progresses, remains a set-piece, especially in Euripides.²⁰ Sophokles favours the introduction of false messengers for their emotional effect on both characters and audience.

Even though narrative spaces dominate his early plays, Aiskhylos presents miraculous or even frightening scenes in visible dramatic space. Orestes' delirium in *Kho.*, Dareios' ghost and the activation of the Underworld in *Persai*, the presence of the Erinyes and the ghost of Klytaimnestra in *Eum.* contrast with Sophokles' *OK.*, in which no Erinyes or gods appear and, apart from the acoustic effect of the thunder, everything remains invisible and even without any report.²¹ Miraculous scenes are also reserved for the narrative space in Euripides (*Hipp.*, *Bakch.*).²² Death scenes, another type usually reserved for narrative spaces, are, however, staged in visible dramatic space in Euripidean plays (*Alk.*, *Hipp.*).²³

Narrative and performance spaces converge when Athens is presented as a narrative location- especially in Euripides, although this may be due to the greater number of extant plays by him. The implicit activation of the auditorium through references to audience external space and time is also found in Euripides more frequently than in the other dramatists.

In later plays, noticeably dynamic and sustained interrelationships are forged among the available spatial locations: narrative and dramatic, visible and invisible spaces and horizontal, vertical and transverse axes. The continuity of roof and stage/*orkhestra* at the end of *Phil.* when Herakles appears mirrors the continuity between the interior of the cave, which was handled as invisible dramatic space in Philoktetes' first entry, and the exterior space. The axes are also united in the final scenes of *Orestes*. As Menelaos enters through an

Euripides' 'flexibility', on the other hand, leads him to argue, 1971, 394-7, that Hippolytos belongs to both the palace and the meadow and thus there is no identification of a narrative space with an aim. However, the meadow is the symbol of Hippolytos' exclusiveness, see chapter 5, p.141. Joerden, 1971, 393, also argues that all three entrance points (interior- *eisodoi*) are used in Euripidean plays but in *Hik.* which is brought as an example nobody enters from the temple. For this view see Rehm, 1988, 283.

²⁰ The tendency towards realism might be implied in the more detailed account of narrative spaces, including real geographical locations in late fifth-century plays (*OK.*).

²¹ For the use of the crane in *Psykhostasia* see Pickard-Cambridge, 1946, 127.

²² See also Pittas-Herschbach, 122, for the difference in the use of spectacle between Aiskhylos and Euripides.

²³ See Walton, 1980, 135-6.

eisodos, instead of the *ekkyklema*, an interior scene is projected on the roof with an expansion beyond this level as Apollo appears with Helen (probably *apomekhanes*).

So knowing a manipulation of the spatial resources of the theatre of Dionysos implies that tragic space resists easy and rigid categorisation. It also resists over-generalisation, as the comparison in Appendix I between the individual handling by Aiskhylos, Sophokles and Euripides of the spaces of the Elektra-Orestes myth helps to confirm.

In this thesis, I have instead proposed a flexible model based on a tripartite division of performance, dramatic and reported spaces, which attempts to take account of the peculiarities and development of tragedy and to see kinds of space as much in their nexus of interrelationships as in their distinctions. It is, to be sure, only one of many possible models and only one of many possible addresses to the undeniable importance of space in the conception and realisation of Greek tragedy.

this immobility (e.g. 802-22).⁶ Since the tomb remains invisible, narrative spaces are tightly interwoven in the dramatic action (the entry of the Paidagogos followed by the entry of Orestes with the urn from the tomb, and then Aigisthos' ironically happy return from the suburbs).

In *E.El.* Elektra's exclusion becomes spatial. The hut on the margins of Argos represents her low social status (106-11), while both the palace and the tomb are removed to narrative space.⁷ The contrast with her previous rank in the palace is reinforced since the hut is presented in ironically grand terms by the farmer (78) and is described in some detail, especially its doors (341, 357) (possibly with reference to the subversion of the setting of the other two plays especially *S.El.*).⁸ Other significant- and new- narrative spaces, apart from the tomb and the palace, are Aigisthos' countryhouse where his death takes place and which, accordingly, receives detailed attention (in contrast to the lack of interest in it in *Kho.* and the rather vague location in *S.El.*) and the spring where Elektra goes and from which she returns with the urn (possibly a subversion of Elektra's libation to Agamemnon's tomb in *Kho.*).⁹ The visible dramatic space functions as the area of confrontation only between mother and children because of Euripides' focus on the effects of the matricide, a focus reinforced by the fact that Aigisthos never appears. The mirroring between Klytaimnestra's death and Agamemnon's which was achieved in *Kho.* through the use of the same setting breaks down in Euripides. The semantic oppositions find spatial expression not in the contrast between areas within the palace as in *Kho.* or *S.El.* (female- male quarters; door versus interior) but in that between hut and invisible palace (the manner of

⁶ Joerden, 1971, 388, calls the visible dramatic space in Sophokles 'neutral space' where discussion takes place and which the 'Zwischenfiguren' occupy. According to Joerden, 1971, 381-5, Elektra does not belong to any of the conflicting invisible spaces (palace-tomb). However, the fact that she ignores Orestes' return does not indicate her split from the tomb, that is, the paternal rights. She also belongs to the palace (note 1.1105) and despite her exclusion still controls the threshold.

⁷ Cf. 1004-10, 1130-1. It is interesting how the staging of Elektra as a slave develops in the three plays: in contrast to *Kho.* (Elektra suffers in the palace but nobody mistakes her for a servant), in Sophokles the Paidagogos considers her a servant hearing but not seeing her, while here Orestes mistakes her for a servant by her appearance.

⁸ On the farmer's description and the hut in general see Walton, 1980, 124-6, and against him Hammond, 1984, 376-8. For 'domestic realism' in this scene and the play in general see Knox, 1979, 252-54.

⁹ There is no need for the urn of a dead here since Orestes is not a messenger of his death. The scene of Elektra's return with the urn resembles Elektra's entry in the *parodos* of *Kho.* Orestes and Pylades hide as in *Kho.*. There is no hiding scene in *S.El.* possibly because the meeting of Orestes and Elektra is reserved for the emotional scene with the urn (contrast Orestes' late entry from the tomb in *S.El.* with his early entry from there in *E.El.* 82). This reinforces the assumption

this immobility (e.g. 802-22).⁶ Since the tomb remains invisible, narrative spaces are tightly interwoven in the dramatic action (the entry of the Paidagogos followed by the entry of Orestes with the urn from the tomb, and then Aigisthos' ironically happy return from the suburbs).

In *E.El.* Elektra's exclusion becomes spatial. The hut on the margins of Argos represents her low social status (106-11), while both the palace and the tomb are removed to narrative space.⁷ The contrast with her previous rank in the palace is reinforced since the hut is presented in ironically grand terms by the farmer (78) and is described in some detail, especially its doors (341, 357) (possibly with reference to the subversion of the setting of the other two plays especially *S.El.*).⁸ Other significant- and new- narrative spaces, apart from the tomb and the palace, are Aigisthos' countryhouse where his death takes place and which, accordingly, receives detailed attention (in contrast to the lack of interest in it in *Kho.* and the rather vague location in *S.El.*) and the spring where Elektra goes and from which she returns with the urn (possibly a subversion of Elektra's libation to Agamemnon's tomb in *Kho.*).⁹ The visible dramatic space functions as the area of confrontation only between mother and children because of Euripides' focus on the effects of the matricide, a focus reinforced by the fact that Aigisthos never appears. The mirroring between Klytaimnestra's death and Agamemnon's which was achieved in *Kho.* through the use of the same setting breaks down in Euripides. The semantic oppositions find spatial expression not in the contrast between areas within the palace as in *Kho.* or *S.El.* (female- male quarters; door versus interior) but in that between hut and invisible palace (the manner of

⁶ Joerden, 1971, 388, calls the visible dramatic space in Sophokles 'neutral space' where discussion takes place and which the 'Zwischenfiguren' occupy. According to Joerden, 1971, 381-5, Elektra does not belong to any of the conflicting invisible spaces (palace-tomb). However, the fact that she ignores Orestes' return does not indicate her split from the tomb, that is, the paternal rights. She also belongs to the palace (note l.1105) and despite her exclusion still controls the threshold.

⁷ Cf. 1004-10, 1130-1. It is interesting how the staging of Elektra as a slave develops in the three plays: in contrast to *Kho.* (Elektra suffers in the palace but nobody mistakes her for a servant), in Sophokles the Paidagogos considers her a servant hearing but not seeing her, while here Orestes mistakes her for a servant by her appearance.

⁸ On the farmer's description and the hut in general see Walton, 1980, 124-6, and against him Hammond, 1984, 376-8. For 'domestic realism' in this scene and the play in general see Knox, 1979, 252-54.

⁹ There is no need for the urn of a dead here since Orestes is not a messenger of his death. The scene of Elektra's return with the urn resembles Elektra's entry in the *parodos* of *Kho.* Orestes and Pylades hide as in *Kho.* There is no hiding scene in *S.El.* possibly because the meeting of Orestes and Elektra is reserved for the emotional scene with the urn (contrast Orestes' late entry from the tomb in *S.El.* with his early entry from there in *E.El.* 82). This reinforces the assumption

Klytaimnestra's arrival in ll.998-1003 clearly points up this contrast). Since the palace cannot play an active part as a visible location, the fear of killing Aigisthos and Klytaimnestra within the city walls (94-101, 615-7) gives a realistic explanation of the spatial change in the location of the murders (Aigisthos' in his farm and Klytaimnestra's in the hut).

An interesting area of comparison among the three plays is the use of space in the recognition and death scenes. In Aiskhylos, Orestes suddenly appears after Elektra finds the evidence of his presence in visible dramatic space and identifies himself after Elektra's brief doubts (212-34). In Sophokles the evidence (the lock of hair) is found in narrative space by Khrysothemis but rejected by Elektra (920-37) so that her determination to continue alone is foregrounded. The ironic proximity between Orestes and Elektra is extended until he reveals the truth after Elektra's emotional address to the urn (1127ff.). The recognition is based on a seal (1221-5). Ironic proximity also characterises Orestes' and Elektra's spaces in *E.El.* but the recognition is achieved through the Old Man. The fear of Elektra on seeing the strangers (215-27), which does not receive any attention in Aiskhylos, and the identification of Orestes by the Old Man (notably the one who finds the evidence at the tomb), after thorough examination and based on a scar (558-77), indicate an increased concern with realism.

Regarding the death scenes, Aigisthos' death cries in *Kho.* are followed by the Servant's cries and Klytaimnestra at the door (869-91).¹⁰ The dialogue between Orestes and his mother and her murder inside dominate the scene even though there are no cries by Klytaimnestra (892-934). An implied enactment, however, occurs through the lyric ode possibly as a way to differentiate this murder from the one in *Ag.* (935-72). Orestes then appears with the corpses as an ἐξάγγελος (973-1005).

Sophokles reverses the order and, after a brief choral ode which anticipates Klytaimnestra's murder allusively (1384-97), he creates a dynamic relation between interior and exterior spaces through Elektra's role as a reporter of the murder through the door (1398-1403) and a simultaneous commentator on

that Elektra entered through the *eisodos* in *Kho.* See Hammond, 1984, 380-1, for a different and (in my view) over-speculative analysis of this parody.

¹⁰ This scene has caused much dispute, see Walton, 1980, 116-8, Garvie, 1986, xlvii-lij, Sevieri, 165-6. Possibly the Servant is heard but not seen, until Klytaimnestra enters from the door with him.

Klytaimnestra's cries, which are also heard by the chorus (1404-21).¹¹ As in *Kho.*, it remains unclear where in the palace the murder takes place. Orestes does not enter with the corpse after the murder because of Aigisthos' entry. The interior is activated again but instead of Aigisthos' exit inside he calls for the opening of the doors (the *ekkyklema* is rolled out) and discovers the entrapment in visible dramatic space. Aigisthos does not die during the play, but the exact location of his murder, at the same place where Agamemnon died (1495-6), even though topographically vague, makes his death certain. The house as the witness of the misfortunes of the family (1497-8) strikingly receives attention and the play ends with a strong emphasis on setting and the closing of the doors.

In Euripides, Aigisthos' cries are heard from afar and the murder is reported extensively by the messenger in ll.774-858. The scene of his murder is moved to invisible space because of the focus on the matricide. Since Aigisthos' murder in *E.El.* takes place away from the hut, the corpse is brought into visible dramatic space and then taken inside, dramatically for Elektra's revenge in ll.907-56 but theatrically for the creation of a scene similar to the staging of *Kho.* for the matricide which follows. Klytaimnestra enters in a chariot (ominously recalling *Ag.*) after the chorus' song on Agamemnon's cries (1147-64) and is drawn inside by Elektra. This is a 'deceptive exit' into space controlled by Elektra (the comment in 1139-46, with the ominous reference to the interior of the hut is noticeable), a reversal of Orestes' entry in *Kho.* where enemies were allowed into Klytaimnestra's space of authority by her.¹² The chorus briefly comments on the murder since Elektra is inside but there is no focus on the details of the murder itself and the exact location also remains without attention (1164-71). Instead of the expected monologue after the corpses become visible, the report of Klytaimnestra's murder is selectively presented in a lyric, highly emotional *amoibaion* between Orestes, Elektra and the chorus, stressing the effects of the matricide.

The lack of lyric spaces in *E.El.* is noticeable. The chorus, when it intervenes, confines its poetic memory to 'historical' background (432-86), while *Kho.* offers the only extant example in Aiskhylos of an ode with lyric examples (585-652)

¹¹ In the other plays the chorus hears the cries because it is the only commentator (Elektra is supposed to be inside in Aigisthos' death in *Kho.* 870-84 and participates in the matricide in *E.El.* 1164-71).

¹² For 'deceptive exits' see chapter 3, p.95.

which functions as the bridge between the two parts of the play.¹³ In Sophokles, it is Elektra who recalls lyric examples (148-52) rather than the chorus, who are limited lyrically by the focus on Elektra and the dramatic action around her.

Finally, a comparison between the ends of the plays reveals the dramatists' different techniques. In *Kho.* Orestes exits hunted by the invisible Furies taking the dramatic space to Delphi. In *S.El.* the ending remains open with Orestes and Aigisthos entering the *skene*-building for the latter's murder. Orestes' future is not mentioned apart from l.1498 (τὰ μέλλοντα). The longest ending and the widest in scope is that in *E.El.* Klytaimnestra's corpse is covered and the house (and with it the section of the play dealing with humans) comes to a dramatic end (1232).¹⁴ The focus turns on the roof and the introduction of the divine part of the play with the Dioskouroi who represent Apollo (and thus function as a replacement of the oracle in Delphi where Orestes is to go in *Kho.*). Orestes has to exit to Athens directly (note the emphasis on this exit at ll.1254-72, 1288-9, 1319-20, 1343). Thus, performance and narrative space converge while an opening to audience space and time occurs through the *aition* in 1258-63. Elektra is also sent to exile but to Pylades' country.¹⁵ The emotional farewell of Orestes and Elektra reactivates the human level and creates contact within the vertical axis between gods on the roof and humans on ground level (1327-30). The exit of all characters at the end in different directions (a hint at the dissolution and lack of cohesion in real life) also marks the exit of the spectators from the world of the play and their re-entry to life.

¹³ For the ode in Euripides see Cropp, 1988, on ll.432-86.

¹⁴ Hammond, 1984, 384, associates this 'end' with the question of the chorus in *Kho.* 1075-6.

¹⁵ Elektra is not sent into exile in the other plays apart from a threat in *S.El.* 378-86 (before the murders).

APPENDIX II: Time

My discussion of time in semiotics and in tragedy does not claim to be exhaustive. It rather functions as a complement to the first chapter which dealt with the ways in which the semiotic models might apply (or not) to Greek tragic space. Since space and time are closely interrelated, it is legitimate to use the same terminology as in the case of space, with its division into three categories:

'performance time': the time in which the play is performed,

'dramatic time': the time occupied by the events enacted on stage within the imagined world of the play,

'reported time': the time during which events recalled through reports take place. This last category is divided into the 'narrative time of the world of the play' and the 'lyric' time.

'Lyric time' is the time recalled in the choral odes. These songs draw on myths which are sometimes temporally disjunct from the world of the play but they can also refer to the narrative time of the world of the play, though in an allusive and variable way. I use the term 'lyric time' irrespective of the time which the chorus recalls (contiguous or discontiguous with that of the world of the play).¹

My terms correspond to the following:

<i>This thesis</i>	<i>performance time</i>	<i>dramatic time</i>	<i>narrative time</i>
Pavis 1996	scenic time	dramatic time	
Ubersfeld 1996	scenic time	time of fiction	
Lowe 2000	real time	primary narrative time	secondary narrative time

4. Table of terms in semiotics

Performance time

I prefer the term 'performance time' to the alternative 'scenic time' for reasons of consistency with the terms used in the account of tragic space. In addition, 'scenic time' seems to refer basically to the time during which actors perform

¹ Despite the fact that space and time are interrelated I avoid using the term 'chronotope', literally time-space, a mobile term which alludes to the way time and space are together conceived and represented. The term was introduced by Bakhtin, see Dentith, 52. It is used by Pavis, 1996, 149-50. I prefer to treat time and space as similar elements but not as a single concept.

focusing on the time of the stage events only and not of the whole performance. Performance time is actually the 'real' time of the performance.

Dramatic time

Dramatic time is normally defined as the 'represented time'.² Ubersfeld's 'time of fiction' is also close to this definition.³ None of these terms, however, indicates a distinction between reported and dramatic time, a distinction vital in tragedy because of the importance of the former in the openness of time beyond the events presented before the audience. 'Primary narrative' as opposed to 'secondary narrative' indicates this difference but I prefer to use the term 'dramatic time' in order to retain consistency with the categories of tragic space suggested in chapter 1.

The norm in tragedy is broad simultaneity between tragic performance and dramatic time.⁴ The passage of performance time and dramatic time, however, is not always a one-to-one mapping. The events which take place in dramatic time are often presented as occupying rather more time. In *Hippolytos*, for example, many events happen in a very brief performance time: Phaidra's appearance as an ill woman, her revelations, the conversation between the Nurse and Hippolytos, Phaidra's decision to die, Theseus' arrival, the *agon*, Hippolytos' exit to exile and finally his death. There is a further and framing contraction, since dramatic time is canonically restricted to one day (l.57).⁵

Dramatic time includes 'reference', namely to which period of time the play refers and how it does so.⁶ The referential world of tragedy is the mythic past and not as in the case of modern performances, contemporary events or the historical past.⁷ The exception is the earliest extant tragedy, Aiskhylos' *Persai*,

² Pavis, 1996, 146, defines dramatic time as 'the represented time, the time of the reported events'.

³ Ubersfeld, 1996, 199.

⁴ See also Branigan, 40, for this simultaneity in cinema time. Ubersfeld, 1996, 197, uses a separate term for performance and dramatic time together ('theatrical time'). Pavis, 1988, 409, follows her.

⁵ This narrowing of time opens with the handling of 'narrative time' and 'lyric time', see pp.209-10 below.

⁶ Ubersfeld, 1996, 211-2, relates this area to the director (and consequently to performance time). She remarks that 'c'est sa tâche propre: fabriquer un contexte qui donne leur sens aux paroles'. She observes, 211, that 'la référence constitue la *marge*; le cadre propre à la fiction, ce qui lui donne son point d'application dans un 'réel' imaginaire'.

⁷ Ubersfeld, 1996, 205-8, views 'myth' from another aspect as ceremonial circular time. She contrasts it to the 'time of history', which roughly corresponds with the 'time of the story'. For historical time and mythical time, see also Ubersfeld, 1991, 143.

the only surviving tragedy to draw on a topic from the recent past.⁸ The temporal distance, however, which characterises almost all surviving tragedies does not mean that the mythic past is an entirely different time from the time of the audience; myth can function as a coded way of referring implicitly to events of the fifth century BC.⁹ Thus, tragedy recalls a mythic past but, as in the case of modern performances, the spectator may experience the fictional past as alive and real.¹⁰ Despite such openness of dramatic time to audience time through anachronisms or references to historical events, explicit references to fifth-century political situations and incorporation of audience-time in dramatic time is highly contentious.¹¹

As in the case of space, dramatic time may also acquire an emblematic meaning. Time in this case becomes symbolic (for example, the past is regarded as a period of happiness or grandeur, the future as ominous, especially in the prophecies).¹² The interrelation of space and time in these cases stresses the symbolic meaning created.¹³

Reported time

The alternative term for reported time, as suggested above, is 'secondary narrative'. I prefer 'reported time' for reasons of consistency with the other terms of time and the equivalent terms used in the classification of space.

Reported time is divided into narrative time and lyric time. Both open the specific time of the dramatic action to other events and other temporal dimensions.¹⁴ An openness of time beyond the particular *mythos* of the play is

⁸ For historical tragedies and *Persai*, see chapter 4, p.110, n.25.

⁹ Segal, 1983, 187, mentions that 'the representation of myth in tragedy hovers between distance and closeness at the same time. In the *Trachinian Women*, for example, Sophocles brings on the stage a woman endowed with the civilized sensibilities of fifth-century Athens, someone whom the audience would have no trouble identifying as a contemporary. Yet she lives in a world where river-gods, Hydras, Centaurs, the primordial monsters subdued by Heracles are still recent and fresh'.

¹⁰ Ubersfeld, 1996, 200-1, calls this a paradox of time in theatre. Segal, 1983, 186, remarks that 'as dramatic performance, tragedy represents myth in its most solid, concrete, three-dimensional form, enacted on the stage before us'.

¹¹ See chapter 3, pp.80-81.

¹² Ubersfeld, 1996, 219-20, distinguishes two means of reference: the metonymic and the metaphoric. She says that, through metonymy, signs of the past (represented by the decor, costumes, objects) indicate the past shown as an irrevocable '*ailleurs*'.

¹³ See, for example, chapter 6, p.176.

¹⁴ See chapter 3, p.87, for the opening to past and future events in prologues and the messenger's speeches. The flashbacks of characters are also significant in this aspect, see chapter 3, p.103, n.210. A striking example occurs in *Oidipous Tyrannos*. The identity and past of Oidipous is

achieved in the choral odes. Lyric time is often used as a kind of 'alternative' time to indicate the passage of time between two episodes and bridge the temporal gap between them.¹⁵ Lyric time also moves freely between past, present and future. As Lowe rightly remarks 'the choral interlude, with its narratological roots in the lyric rather than the epic tradition, remains the single most powerful and versatile means of embedding an anachronic secondary narrative at a chosen point in the primary action...the chorus does have the power, denied to the primary stage action, of veering and varying the flow of narrated time'.¹⁶

As in the case of reported space, the absence of a category for reported time is a characteristic feature in semiotic studies of modern performances.¹⁷ The 'time of the story' is used for the events evoked by the text (irrespective of whether they are visible to the audience or narrated to them).¹⁸ The absence of a separate term for reported time is justified because narration does not form so large or consistent a part of modern drama as in the case of tragedy. The focus of these semiotic studies remains the time which is concrete, that is the 'performance time', since contemporary performance is accessible to observation, whereas in the case of tragedy the evidence for this is non-existent.

The division of time suggested above, and especially the important role given to reported time in contrast to the privileging of performance time, is thus explained by the peculiarities of tragedy and its accessibility only as an 'absent performance'.¹⁹ The lack of evidence about the actual details of the performances themselves makes it difficult to approach another type of time of interest in semioticians of modern drama. This is the time which is external to the handling of time within a play and sometimes called 'cultural time'. By this, I mean the interaction between the times (in the sense of chronological periods) of the dramatist and the spectators. The spectator's time is a primary issue in the

presented towards the end of the play. Branigan, 40, says that if the ellipsis is large, but later disappears when completed by new on-stage events, there is a 'flashforward'.

¹⁵ See chapter 3, pp.88-9.

¹⁶ Lowe, 2000, 168. In many tragedies past events of the story are given after the prologue usually during a choral ode, for example, the journey of Phaidra from Crete to Athens in *Hippolytos*, see chapter 5, pp.136-7.

¹⁷ For reported space see chapter 1, pp.20-1.

¹⁸ For the terms related to story (fabula etc) see Lowe, 2000, 17-8.

¹⁹ See chapter 1, p.10, n.23 for this term.

analyses of modern authors.²⁰ This is justified because the spectators of modern performances of drama are available to the theorists for observation since they are contemporary to them and can answer their questions or questionnaires. In the case of tragedy, however, our knowledge of issues related to the audience of the fifth century BC is very scarce.

I stress this point because of two related considerations, which show that modern theories can lead to misinterpretations of tragedy. The first is that modern theorists usually distinguish between three times: 'the time of the author, the time of the text (the role of director is important in its concretisation) and the time of the audience'.²¹ In the case of tragedy, however, the distinction between audience and author does not exist.²² Author and audience were contemporaries, they shared the same experience and cultural universe. If there were a need to distinguish the time recalled in the text of tragedy (the mythic past) from an external time, the latter would have been the time of *both* author *and* audience (the fifth century BC).

Secondly, modern theorists think in terms of reproductions of classical plays, in which the director has to reconstruct the time of the text written by an author who belongs to a different time from that of the audience and of the director himself. Thus, time is approached in a completely different way than Greek tragic time, since the time of the director is different from the time of the author. Depending on the director, the same play may be staged with a completely different handling of time and therefore with completely different messages which respond to the contemporary conditions of the production (for example, if the play is staged in a period of democracy or tyranny). In the case of tragedy these issues do not apply, since they are much later practices. The director was the dramatist and the performance in the fifth century was a single event, which was not repeated at the same festival by a different director.²³

²⁰ Ubersfeld, 1996, 198, relates the time of theatre to the time of life. This relation is variable according to the tastes, habits and material possibilities of the social group going to the theatre.

²¹ Ubersfeld, 1996, 212, insists on the role of the director as the mediator between the universe proposed by the author and the universe of reference of the spectators. The distinction between times which I use above is Ubersfeld's, 1996, 215.

²² I admit that, apart from the particular audience of one festival and day which the texts may assume, there were also audiences of revival productions (in deme theatres and later revival productions) which the original text may not envisage. In my analysis, however, the first production is paramount and the revivals are not considered.

²³ Reproductions, however, might have been likely in the fifth century because the evidence for them belongs to the early fourth century, 386 BC (*IG* ii² 2319-23) which implies the possibility of precedents. The *Life of Aiskhylos*, 12, refers to reproductions of Aiskhylos' plays.

The discussion presented above shows that time in tragedy should be approached in the same way as tragic space: without overly rigid and mechanical distinctions between categories. This approach, focusing on the interactions between kinds of time and, especially, the important role of reported time, is followed in the third chapter and in the individual exemplifying cases (chapters 4-6). A detailed analysis of tragic time in the light of modern theories is a field which requires further research.²⁴

²⁴ De Romilly's book on time was published before accounts of modern theories became popular in classics. The discussion of tragic time in Lowe, 2000, 164-9, is excellent but, because of the wide scope of his book, the section dedicated to tragic time is brief.

APPENDIX III: Glossary of selected modern terms

Space

Architectural space: Issacharoff, 1981, 212, uses this term for the 'theatre space': the *dynamic* workings of the particular theatre space, or the dynamic relations linking the place of enactment to other constituent elements of dramatic performance is what previous accounts of this space which had been concerned essentially with theatre *buildings* are lacking. Cf. **Scenographic space, theatrical place, fixed-featured space.**

Diegetic space: Issacharoff, 1981, 216, uses the term diegetic space, that is, the space which is described, not shown. Dramatic discourse is the means to refer to non-visible (diegetic) space. Its function is to replace space verbally. Cf. **Secondary narrative.**

Dramatic space: Pavis, 1998, 117-8, defines dramatic space as 'the space represented as opposed to stage space (or theatre space). Whereas the latter is visible and materialises in the staging, the former is constructed by the spectator or reader as a framework for the development of the action and the characters. It pertains to the dramatic text and can only be visualised when the spectator builds the dramatic space in his imagination. Concerning dramatic space as spatialisation of dramatic structure, the dramatic space is constructed when we form a mental image of the dramatic structure of the world represented in the play... we build that space on the basis of the playwright's stage directions and the indications of time and space included in the dialogues (word scenery)'.

Issacharoff, 1981, 213, believes that the dramatic space is the space as used by an individual ('a particular' in Issacharoff, 1989, 56) dramatist and assimilates it to Saussure's *parole*. This is divided into **mimetic space** and **diegetic space** (see below).

Ubersfeld, 1996, 54, says that dramatic space 'désigne tout l'espace imaginaire construit à partir du texte, évoqué par lui, qu'il soit ou ne soit pas figuré sur la scène...l'espace dramatique n'est pas fondamentalement distinct de l'espace

romanesque, sinon que ce dernier ne suppose pas la distinction scénique/hors-scène, présence/absence'.

Elam, 3, uses dramatic in the sense 'composed *for* the theatre' (not *in* theatre, cf. 'theatrical' below).

Indications of time and space/ spatiotemporal indications: Pavis, 1998, 183, uses the term indications of time and place to refer to 'explicit mentions, in the dramatic text, of a place or time, an action, an attitude or an action by a character. These mentions are 'heard' by the reader-spectator and help establish the fiction. They need not necessarily be translated in the staging'. Pavis, 1998, 387, says that 'indications of time and place' are contained in the dramatic text. These indications 'which are by no means specific to theatre, arise at the level of the content, of utterances'.

Informal space: according to Elam, 63, 'the informal space has as its units the ever-shifting relations of proximity and distance between individuals, thus applying, in the theatre, to actor-actor, actor-spectator and spectator-spectator interplay'. Cf. **Theatrical space**.

Fixed-featured space: Elam, 62-3, uses this term for the static architectural configurations. In the theatre, in particular, it relates chiefly 'to the playhouse itself and, in formal theatres, to the shapes and dimensions of stage and auditorium'.

Gestural space ('gestuel'): according to Pavis, 1996, 141, this kind of space 'c'est l'espace créé par la présence, la position scénique et les déplacements des comédiens: espace 'émis' et tracé par l'acteur, induit par sa corporalité'. According to Pavis 1998, 161, it is the space created by the actors' movements. 'With their actions, their proximity to or distance from each other, their free movements and restriction to a minimal playing space, the actors define the exact limits of their individual and collective territories. Space is organized around them as around a pivot that changes position as required by the action. This type of space is constructed on the basis of acting. It is in perpetual motion, its boundaries expandable and unpredictable, while the **stage space**, although it

may appear to be vast, is in fact limited by the structure of the building. Even more than **stage space**, gestural space lends itself to all kinds of conventions and manipulations- it is not a realistic space but a stage tool available to actor and director. Any performance is, in this sense, theatre with a dual movement of expansion and condensation. The **stage space** provides the general framework and tends to encompass and overshadow everything that appears upon it. Gestural space, on the other hand, dilates and fills the surrounding space, at least when it is used properly'. Cf. **Ludic space**.

Localised offstage physical space: McAuley, 31, says that these are 'those places that are contiguous with those onstage, immediately accessed through a door or stairway or partially glimpsed through a window'.

Ludic space ('ludique'): Ubersfeld, 1996, 70, calls ludic 'l' espace d' un jeu mené par les comédiens dont les corps occupent cet espace, le modifiant ou, à la limite, le créant'.

Mimetic space: according to Issacharoff, 1981, 215-6, mimetic space is the space where the discourse acquires an indexical function. The verbal is centered on the visual. The referent is both visible and explicitly referred to.

Platform-stage (le tréteau): Ubersfeld, 1996, 57-8, says that 'l' espace-tréteau suppose que tout ce qui se passe sur le plateau scénique apparaisse dans un rapport de continuité entre le spectateur et le comédien. ... La coupure s' établit non pas entre le spectateur et le spectacle, mais entre le tréteau et le reste du monde. L' espace-tréteau ne prétend pas être l' 'imitation' d' un lieu concret... ...les activités des comédiens sur le tréteau sont activités de théâtre, essentiellement ludiques et non mimétiques...'. According to her diagram (p.58) the spectators are located around the platform (this is one of the possibilities for the spectators).

Presentational space: McAuley, 29, calls presentational space 'the physical use made of the stage space in any given performance'. It includes 'the actual physical occupation of the stage space by the actors as well as the set (if any), its

furniture and props, the spatial demarcation established by the lighting, the number and position of the exits, and the way the offstage areas are signaled physically... it partially elides two of Pavis' categories **stage space** and **gestural space**'.

Primary narrative: Lowe, 2000, 166, uses it for 'parts of the story that are played out directly on stage'.

Proscenium-stage (le théâtre de boulevard): according to Ubersfeld, 1996, 55-7, this stage 'délimite l' espace scénique d' un côté (du côté du public) par la rampe (ou toute frontière en tenant lieu, une fosse d' orchestre, une différence de niveau, etc.), de l' autre côté par un décor, c'est-à-dire une construction scénique évoquant avec une relative précision un lieu dans le monde... Le travail de l'espace scénique consiste à isoler un morceau du monde... Le rapport du spectateur au comédien-personnage est alors un rapport de sympathie, d'identification: si le théâtre est comme la vie, le comédien est comme le spectateur'.

Proxemics: Hall, 1, defines *proxemics* as 'the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialised elaboration of culture'. I use this term in its limited meaning, as referring to the distance between the actors, not in the general one which is used by Hall. Pearson, 150, categorises proxemics with **kinesics** and **haptics**. He defines, 151, proxemics as 'interpersonal distance'. According to Fischer-Lichte, 30, 'body movements which involve a change of place are treated as proxemic signs'. Fischer-Lichte, 58, says that they concern signs that a) 'take the shape of the distance between the parties to interaction', b) signs 'that take the shape of movement, i.e. movement through space'.

Scenic place (le lieu scénique): Ubersfeld, 1996, 50, uses the term for the **theatrical space** (see below) 'le lieu scénique...c'est l' espace théâtral considéré dans ses caractéristiques matérielles et son rapport avec la pratique concrète de la scène'. Ubersfeld, 1996, 53, further defines the scenic place 'comme *emplacement des praticiens* avec ses coordonnées précises, ses dimensions, les possibilités données à l' activité et au déplacement des comédiens, ses

contraintes propres, la présence ou non d' un décor, de praticables, le nombre de ses entrées, sa forme'. Cf. **Scenic space**.

McAuley, 23, says that this term and Ubersfeld's **dramatic space** are combined in Pavis' **dramatic space**. McAuley, 28, says that Ubersfeld's 'stage space' and 'scenic place', as Scolnicov's perceived and conceived space, conceptualize the duality between physical reality and fictional place. 'It is not simply that the physical space of the stage presents or represents a fictional place but, as Ubersfeld indicates in her definition of the scenic place, that the spatial organization of the stage and the bodily presence/behavior of the actors constitute a commentary on the nature of the place. In Ubersfeld's view this commentary is always of a sociopolitical, sociocultural kind, the expression of the social space experienced by the particular group within a given society'.

Scenic space (translated as **stage space** in Pavis, 1998) (*l'espace scénique*): Pavis, 1998, 360, says that this space corresponds more or less to what we call 'the stage' (*scene* in French). 'Stage space' is given to us here and now in the performance by the actors and their movements.

Ubersfeld, 1996, 53, uses the term for 'l' ensemble abstrait des signes de la scène; l' espace scénique sera défini comme la collection des signes provenus du *lieu scénique* et qui y trouvent leur place'. She then limits the scenic space as the space which 'contient tous les événements qui prennent leur place sur la scène'.

Rehm, 2002, 21, uses **scenic space** as an equivalent of setting. 'It is specified by the façade, scenic elements and the references in the text... Even when scenic space seems fixed by the façade a completely different scene may be created, without fundamental changes in what the audience literally sees'. [Rehm is included in this appendix even though he offers an account of tragic space because he uses a term common in semiotics but with a different meaning].

Scenographic space: Issacharoff, 1981, 212-4, defines it as the 'stage space' i.e. the stage and the set design (realistic or not realistic). He adds that **architectural** and **scenographic space** 'concern the study of the most tangible forms of theatrical space- what is either permanent (buildings) or can be permanently recorded (decor and set)'. Cf. **Semi-fixed feature space, theatrical space**.

Secondary narrative: Lowe, 2000, 166, defines it as 'the merely reported narrative'.

Semi-fixed feature space: Elam, 63, says that this concerns movable but non-dynamic objects. In theatre it involves the set and auxiliary factors (e.g. lighting). Cf. **Scenographic space**.

Stage space: Fischer-Lichte, 101, says that the actor is stimulated by the respective stage space in terms of the movements he carries out in it to portray a character. She adds that the stage space is also seen as a sign for the possibility of implementing certain proxemic signs which signify the action of the character. McAuley, 29, defines it as 'the physical space of the stage, extended by the performers in any given production by temporary or permanent incursions into the auditorium'. See also **scenic space** (translated as **stage space**).

Theatre space: Scolnicov, 1987, 11 and 1994, 2, defines it as an architectural concept, the given space within which each performance creates its own theatrical space. However, in Pavis, 1998, 344, it is used as the translation of **theatrical space**, which includes the dramatic space.

Theatrical place (lieu théâtral): Ubersfeld, 1996, 50, defines it 'par son rapport physique et architectural avec l'ensemble de la cité ou de la ville (lieux théâtraux: le théâtre grec, l'amphithéâtre romain,...), par ses caractéristiques matérielles de rapport entre scène et salle, et par son rôle socioculturel à chaque fois particulier dans la cité'.

Theatrical space (theatre space in Pavis, 1998, 344) (espace théâtral): Pavis, 1996, 139, presents it as an equivalent of the concrete space and time ('espace théâtral et temps de la représentation') distinguishing it from the abstract space and time ('lieu fonctionnel et temporalité imaginaire'). Ubersfeld, 1996, 50, distinguishes it clearly from the décor: 'il comprend: a) un lieu physique concret, celui de la présence des comédiens dans leur rapport au public; b) un ensemble abstrait, celui de tous les signes réels ou virtuels de la représentation'. Ubersfeld 1996, 54, argues that 'peut-être faut-il encore élargir la notion d'espace théâtral et

joindre aux signes concrets provenus de l'espace physique de la représentation, l'espace virtuel du texte', but in 74 she says that 'l' espace théâtral se construit à partir d'une architecture, d'une vue sur le monde (picturale), ou d'un espace sculpté essentiellement par les corps des comédiens'. Pavis, 1998, 344, includes dramatic space in the theatrical which he defines as 'the space occupied by the audience and actors in the course of a performance' (Pavis, 118, calls theatrical space **scenographic**). Pavis, 1998, 393, says that it replaces *theatre*. Elam, 3, uses the term 'theatrical' as an equivalent of 'composed *in* theatre' and as an alternative of the term 'performance'. Scolnicov, 1994, 2-3, considers theatrical space the one created by each production. She says that 'the theatrical space is a composite creation of the play, *mise-en-scène*, acting, choreography, scenery, lighting, etc. as well as the given theatre space. Together, these elements form the theatrical space in which the action of the play unfolds'. This is divided into theatrical space within and without. See **theatrical space within** and **theatrical space without**.

Theatrical space at the level of the text: Ubersfeld, 1999, 106-7, says that 'it can be defined according to a certain number of lexical determinations'. The first step is 'to take note of everything that might have a role in the identification of locality- place names (common nouns, geographical names) as well as lexical items indicative of spatial disposition but without any need for a distinction between semantic fields or usage or between what is or might be a stage element and what is or might be offstage'. The second inventory is semanto-syntactic: it consists of listing all locality determinants, including the above mentioned locatives, in which the noun belongs to spatial semantics. The third list is the one of objects. These lists will then allow us to construct one or more space paradigms for the text.

Theatrical space within: according to Scolnicov, 1994, 3, it is 'the space on stage within our field of vision, the space in which the actors perform in front of our eyes'.

Theatrical space without: Scolnicov, 1994, 3, defines it as 'any space implied by the play but not constituting part of the spectacle, i.e. not realised on stage'.

Unlocalised offstage physical space: McAuley, 31, says that 'it includes those places that are part of the dramatic geography of the action but which are not placed physically in relation to the onstage, the continuous offstage, or to the audience space'.

Word scenery: Pavis, 1998, 440, says that it is 'scenery which is described or suggested not by visual means but through a character's commentary. The word scenery technique is also possible by virtue of a convention accepted by the spectator that allows him to imagine the scenery and immediate change from one place to another as announced'.

Time

Dramatic time (temps dramatique): Pavis, 1996, 146, distinguishes 'le temps représenté (ou temps dramatique, celui des événements rapportés)' from scenic time. See scenic time below.

Primary narrative: see primary narrative in *space*.

Scenic time (temps scénique): Ubersfeld, 1996, 198, uses the term scenic time for what the spectator and the actor perceive as a real time ('temps vécu').

Pavis, 1996, 146, defines scenic time as 'le temps de la représentation'.

Secondary narrative: see *space* above.

Time of fiction (Fictional time): Ubersfeld, 1996, 199-200, says it is the time 'not shown' ('ce qui ne se voit pas'). The director tries to render perceptible (i.e. in the performance) what is a simple textual duration.

Time of the story: The term 'time of the story' seems rather complicated in modern analyses. Aston-Savona, 21, define story as the outline, while plot is the means by which this outline is structured. Rimmon-Kenan, 3, defines story in the spirit of Genette's '*histoire*' (71-6). She says that "story' designates the narrated events, abstracted from their disposition in the text and reconstructed in their chronological order, together with the participants in these events'. She distinguishes this from the 'text' (Genette's '*récit*'). 'In it, the events do not necessarily appear in chronological order, the characteristics of the participants are dispersed throughout, and all the items of the narrative content are filtered through some prism or perspective ('focalizer')'. Lowe, 2000, 168, gives two characteristic features of the 'story': it has a beginning and an ending. Ubersfeld, 1996, 208, uses the term 'time of history', for a similar kind of time. She says that the time of history 'suppose l'existence d'une fable avec un *avant* et un *après*, ancrée dans un temps irréversible: elle a trouvé place une fois et sa répétition scénique *montre* un événement passé mais ne le renouvelle pas'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions

- Allan W, *Euripides The Children of Heracles* (Warminster, 2001)
- Barlow S, *Euripides Trojan Women* (Warminster, 1986)
- , *Euripides Heracles* (Warminster, 1996)
- Barrett WS, *Euripides: Hippolytos* (Oxford, 1964)
- Belloni L, *Eschilo I Persiani* (Milano, 1988)
- Biehl W, *Euripides: Troades* (Heidelberg, 1989)
- Bond GW, *Heracles* (Oxford, 1981)
- Broadhead HD, *The Persae of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1960)
- Campbell L, *Sophocles Vol.II* (Oxford, 1881)
- Collard C, *Euripides Supplices Vol.I Introduction and Text* (Groningen, 1975)
- , *Euripides Hecuba* (Warminster, 1991)
- Conacher DJ, *Euripides Alcestis* (Warminster, 1988)
- Craik E, *Euripides Phoenician Women* (Warminster, 1988)
- Dale AM, *Euripides Alcestis* (Oxford, 1954)
- , *Euripides Helen* (Oxford, 1967)
- Dawe RD, *Oedipus Rex* (Cambridge, 1982)
- , *Sophoclis Tragoediae I* (Lipsiae, 1984)
- , *Sophoclis Tragoediae II* (Lipsiae, 1985)
- Diggle J, *Euripidis Fabulae I* (Oxford, 1984)
- , *Euripidis Fabulae II* (Oxford, 1981)
- , *Euripidis Fabulae III* (Oxford, 1994)
- Dover KD, *Frogs* (Oxford, 1993)
- Edwards M, *Greek Orators IV: Andocides* (Warminster, 1995)
- Garvie AF, *Aeschylus Choephoroi* (Oxford, 1986)
- , *Sophocles Ajax* (Warminster, 1998)
- Griffith M, *Aeschylus Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge, 1983)
- Hall E, *Aeschylus Persians* (Warminster, 1996)
- Halleran MR, *Euripides: Hippolytus* (Warminster, 1995)
- Hutchinson GO, *Septem Contra Thebes* (Oxford, 1985)
- Jebb R, *Sophocles: The Philoctetes* (2nd ed.) (Cambridge, 1898)

- Johansen HF- Whittle EW, *Aeschylus: The Supplices* (Vol.II, Comm. II.1-629) (Denmark, 1980)
- Kamerbeek JC, *The Plays of Sophocles: Philoctetes* (Leiden, 1980)
- Kells JH, *Sophocles Electra* (Cambridge, 1973)
- Lee KH, *Euripides: Troades* (London, 1976)
- , *Euripides Ion* (Warminster, 1997)
- Lloyd-Jones H- Wilson NG, *Sophoclis Fabulae* (Oxford, 1990)
- Lloyd M, *Euripides Andromache* (Warminster, 1994)
- March J, *Sophocles Electra* (Warminster, 2001)
- Mastronarde DJ, *Euripides Phoenissae* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Müller G, *Scholia Tzetzae in Lycophronem* (Lipsiae, 1811)
- Page DL, *Euripides: Medea* (Oxford, 1938)
- , *Aeschyli Tragoediae* (Oxford, 1972)
- Podlecki A, *The Persians* (Bristol, 1991)
- Rhodes RJ, *Thucydides History II* (Warminster, 1988)
- Seaford R, *Euripides: Cyclops* (Oxford, 1984)
- , *Euripides Bacchae* (Warminster, 1997)
- Sevieri R, *Eschilo Coefore* (Venezia, 1995)
- Sommerstein A, *Aeschylus Eumenides* (Cambridge, 1989)
- Stevens PT, *Euripides Andromache* (Oxford, 1971)
- Ussher RG, *Sophocles Philoctetes* (Warminster, 1990)
- Webster TBL, *Philoctetes* (Cambridge, 1970)
- West ML, *Euripides Orestes* (Warminster, 1987)
- , *Aeschyli Tragoediae : cum incerti poetae Prometheo* (Lipsiae, 1990)
- [1990a]
- Willink CW, *Euripides Orestes* (Oxford, 1986)

Other works:

- Abrams M, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (5th ed.) (New York, 1988)
- Alexanderson B, 'Darius in the *Persians*' *Eranos* 65 (1967) 1-11
- Allen HL, 'Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando), 1967-9: Preliminary Report X' *AJA* 74 (1970) 359-83
- Allen JT, 'On the Athenian Theater before 441 BC' *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I, no. 6 (1937) 169-72

- , 'On the Odeum of Pericles and the Periclean Reconstruction of the Theater' *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I, no. 7 (1941) 173-7
- Allen JT- Italie G, *A Concordance to Euripides* (Berkeley- London, 1954)
- Altena H, 'Text and Performance: on Significant Actions in Euripides' *Phoenissae' ICS* 24-25 (1999-2000) 303-32
- Anderson M, 'The Imagery of the *Persians*' *G&R* 19 (1972) 166-74
- Anti C, *Teatri Greci Arcaici da Minosse a Pericle* (Padua, 1947)
- Anti C- Polacco L, *Nuove ricerche sui teatri greci arcaici* (Padua, 1969)
- Arnott P, *Greek Scenic Conventions In The Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1962)
- , *Public And Performance in the Greek Theatre* (London, 1989)
- Ashby C, 'The case for the Rectangular/ Trapezoidal *Orchestra*' *TRI* 13 (1988) 1-20
- , *Classical Greek Theatre: new views of an old subject* (Iowa, 1999)
- Aston E & Savona G, *Theatre as Sign-system: A Semiotics of Text and Performance* (London, 1991)
- Avery HC, 'Dramatic Devises in Aeschylus' *Persians' AJP* 85 (1964) 173-84
- , 'Heracles, Philoctetes, Neoptolemus' *Hermes* 93 (1965) 279-97
- Bahn P, *Collins Dictionary of Archaeology* (Glasgow, 1992)
- Bain D, 'Audience address in Greek tragedy' *CQ* 25 (1975) 13-25
- , *Actors and Audience: A Study Of Asides And Related Conventions In Greek Drama* (Oxford, 1977)
- , *Masters, Servants, and Orders in Greek Tragedy: A Study of some aspects of dramatic technique and convention* (Manchester, 1981)
- , 'Review of Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* (ed. M. Griffith)' *JHS* 105 (1985) 180-1
- Bardel R, 'Review of C.Ashby, *Classical Greek Theatre: new views of an old subject*' *CR* 50, 2 (2000) 577
- Barlow SA, *The Imagery of Euripides* (London, 1971)
- Bartholomae C, *Altiranische Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904)
- Bassi K, 'Review of David Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens: Performance space and theatrical meaning*' *TJ* 53 (2001) 347-48
- Bees R, *Zur Datierung des Prometheus Desmotes* (Stuttgart, 1993)

- , 'Die Skene in Aischylos' *Persern, Sieben gegen Theben und Hiketiden*' in *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike*, E Pöhlmann (ed.) (New York, 1995) 73-106
- Bell E, *Early Architecture in Western Asia* (London, 1924)
- Bernand A, *La Carte du tragique: la géographie dans la tragédie grecque* (Paris, 1985)
- Bieber M, 'Review of Anti C, *Teatri Greci Arcaici da Minosse a Pericle*' *AJP* 69 (1948) 449-51
- , 'The entrances and exits of actors and chorus in Greek plays' *AJA* 58 (1954) 277-84
- , *History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (2nd ed.) (Princeton, 1961)
- Boardman J, *An archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of the Achaemenid Art* (London, 2001)
- Bond G, 'A chorus in *Hippolytus*: manuscript text versus dramatic realism' *Hermathena* 129 (1980) 59-63
- Bonnafé A, 'Le lieu scenique, 'carte' du 'territoire' de la pièce' in *L' espace et ses representations*, A. Bonnafe, J-C. Decourt et B. Helly (eds.) (Lyon, 2000) 73-81
- Brandt GW (ed.), *Modern Theories of Drama (a selection of writings on drama and theatre, 1840-1990)* (Oxford, 1998)
- Branigan E, *Narrative Comprehension and Film* (London & New York, 1992)
- Bremer JM, 'The meadow of love and two passages in Euripides' *Hippolytus*' *Mnemosyne* 28 (1975) 268-80
- Broneer O, 'The tent of Xerxes and the Greek Theater' *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I, no. 12 (1944) 305-12
- Brook P, *The Empty Space* (London, 1968)
- Brown AL, 'Three and Scene-Painting Sophocles' *PCPhS* 30 (1984) 1-17
- Buck CD, 'Architectural remains in Ikaria' *Papers of the American School of Classical studies at Athens* 5 (1886-90) 54-70
- Bulle H, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern* (München, 1928)
- Bulle H- Wirsing H, *Szenenbilder zum griechischen Theater des 5 Jhr. v Chr.* (Berlin, 1950)
- Bushala E, 'συζύγιοι Χάριτες: *Hippolytus* 1147' *TAPA* 100 (1969) 23-9

- Calder WM III, 'A reconstruction of Sophocles' *Polyxena*' *GRBS* 7 (1966) 31-56
- Campbell C, 'A theophany' *Theoria to theory* 6 (1972) 81-5
- Camp J, *The Archaeology of Athens* (Yale, 2001)
- Cantarella R, 'Aristophanes' *Plutos* 422-425 und die Wiederaufführungen Aischyleischer Werke' in *Wege zu Aischylos* I, H. Hommel (ed.) (Wege der Forschung Bd 87, 465) (Darmstadt, 1974) 405-35
- Caputo G, 'Curia castellierie terminologia della cavea greca a pianta centrale' *Dioniso* 13 (1950) 103-4
- Carey C, 'The second *stasimon* of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*' *JHS* 106 (1986) 175-9
- , *Democracy in Classical Athens* (Bristol, 2000)
- Carlson M, *Theatre Semiotics: Signs of Life* (Bloomington, 1990)
- , 'Psychic polyphony' in *Modern theories of drama (a selection of writings on drama and theatre, 1840-1990)*, GW Brandt (ed.) (Oxford, 1998) 288-98
- Castellani V, 'Clio vs. Melpomene; or, why so little historical drama from classical Athens?' *Themes in Drama* 8 (1986) 1-16
- Chandler D, *Semiotics for beginners: Glossary of key terms* (2000) www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem-gloss.html
- Chandriotis E, *Η προσφώνηση των θεατών στην αρχαία ελληνική τραγωδία* (Lefkosia, 1996)
- Childs W, *The City-Reliefs of Lycia* (Princeton, 1978)
- Clark A, *Longman Dictionary of Geography* (Harlow, 1985)
- Cole T, 'Review of AM Dale, *Collected Papers*' *AJP* 92 (1971) 718-21
- Conacher DJ, 'Review of Barrett WS, *Euripides: Hippolytos*' *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 338-343
- , *Aeschylus: the earlier Plays and related Studies* (Toronto, 1996)
- Craik E, 'The Staging of Sophocles' *Philoktetes* and Aristophanes' *Birds*' in *Owls to Athens, Essays in Classical subjects presented for Sir Kenneth Dover*, E.Craik (ed.) (Oxford, 1990) 81-3
- Croally NT, *Euripidean Polemic: The Trojan women and the function of tragedy* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Csapo E & Slater WJ, *The Context of Ancient Drama* (Michigan, 1995)

- Cushing WL, 'The Theatre of Thoricus: Supplementary Report' *Papers of the American School IV* (1885-6) 23-34
- D' Angour A, 'How the dithyramb got its shape' *CQ* 47 (1997) 331-51
- Dale AM, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, 1969)
- Davidson JF, 'The cave of Philoktetes' *Mnemosyne* 43 (1990) 307-15
- De Jong I, *Narrative in Drama: The Art of the Euripidean Messenger-Speech* (Mnemosyne Suppl.116) (Leiden, 1991)
- De Marinis M, *The Semiotics of Performance* (trans. A.O'. Hailey) (Bloomington, 1993)
- De Romilly J, *Time in Greek Tragedy* (Ithaca- London, 1968)
- Dentith S, *Bakhtinian thought: an introductory reader* (Routledge, 1995)
- Di Benedetto V, 'Spazio e messa in scena nelle tragedie di Eschilo' *Dioniso* 59 (1989) 65-101
- Diggle J, *Studies on the text of Euripides* (Oxford, 1981)
- Dilke OAW, 'The Greek Theatre Cavea' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 43 (1948) 125-192
- , 'Details and Chronology of the Greek Theatre Caveas' *Annual British School at Athens* 45 (1950) 21-62
- Dillon GL, *Introduction to Contemporary Linguistic Semantics* (Prentice-Hall foundations of modern linguistics series) (New Jersey, 1977)
- Dimock G Jr, 'Euripides' *Hippolytus*, or virtue rewarded' *YCS* 25 (1977) 239-58
- Dinsmoor W, 'The Athenian Theater of the Fifth Century' in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson I*, G.Mylonas (ed.) (Saint Louis, 1951) 309-330
- Dörpfeld W-Reisch E, *Das Griechische Theater* (Athens, 1896)
- Dörpfeld W, 'Rezension von JT Allen "The orchestra-terrace of the Aeschylean Theater"' *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 43 (1923) 441-3
- , 'Die im Januar 1925 im Dionysos-Theater in Athen unternommenen Grabungen' *Πρακτικά* (1925-6) 25-32
- Donahue T, *Structures of Meaning: a semiotic approach to the play text* (Rutherford NJ, 1993)
- Dunn F, 'Fearful Symmetry: the two tombs of *Hippolytus*' *MD* 28 (1992) 103-

- Earp FR, *The Style of Sophocles* (Cambridge, 1944)
- Easterling PE, 'Philoctetes and Modern Criticism' *ICS* 3 (1978) 27-39
- , 'Anachronism in Greek tragedy' *JHS* 105 (1985) 1-10
- , 'Women in tragic space' *BICS* 34 (1987) 15-26
- , 'Euripides in the theatre' *Pallas* 37 (1991) 49-59
- Edmunds L, *Theatrical Space and Historical Place in Sophocles' Oedipus at Colonus* (Lanham, 1996)
- , 'Divisions of theatrical space' (2001) www-rci.rutgers.edu/~edmunds/Divs.html
- Elam K, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London, 1980)
- Else GF, *Aristotle's Poetics: the argument* (Cambridge: Mass., 1957)
- Esslin M, *The Field of Drama* (London, 1987)
- , 'The signs of stage and screen' in *Modern theories of drama (a selection of writings on drama and theatre, 1840-1990)*, GW Brandt (ed.) (Oxford, 1998) 299-306
- Fawkes G, *A lost Painting by Polygnotos at Delphi: A reconstruction based on the description by Pausanias*, *Perseus Encyclopaedia* ([http: www.perseus.tufts.edu/c1135/ Students/Glynnis_Fawkes/Polygnotos.html](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/c1135/Students/Glynnis_Fawkes/Polygnotos.html))
- Fiechter ER, *Das Dionysos Theater in Athen* (Stuttgart, 1935-6)
- Fischer-Lichte E, *The Semiotics of Theater* (trans. J. Gaines & DL Jones) (Bloomington, 1992)
- Fitter C, *Poetry, space, landscape: Toward a new theory* (Cambridge, 1995)
- Fitton JW, 'Review of Barrett WS *Euripides: Hippolytos*' *Pegasos* 8 (1967) 17-43
- Flickinger RC, 'The Theater of Aeschylus' *TAPA* 61 (1930) 80-110
- , *The Greek Theater and its Drama* (4th ed.) (Chicago, 1936)
- Foley HP, *Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides* (Ithaca and London, 1985)
- Frischer B, 'Concordia Discors and Characterization in Euripides' *Hippolytus*' *GRBS* 11 (1970) 85-100
- Frontier M, *Theory/ Theatre: an Introduction* (London, 1997)
- Fullerton M, *Greek Art* (Cambridge, 2000)
- Fusillo M, 'Lo Spazio di Filottete (per una poetica della scena Sofoclea)' *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 3rd ser. 8-9 (1990-1) 19-59

- Gagarin M, *Aeschylean Drama* (California, 1976)
- Gardiner CP, *The Sophoclean Chorus* (Iowa, 1987)
- Gardner P, 'The scenery of the Greek stage' *JHS* 19 (1899) 255-64
- Garvie AF, *Aeschylus' Supplikes: the Play and Trilogy* (Cambridge, 1969)
- Gebhard E, *The theatre in Isthmia* (Chicago, 1973)
- , 'The form of the *orchestra* in the early Greek theater' *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 428-40
- , 'Review of Ginouvès R, 'Le Théâtre à gradins droits et l'Odéon d'Argos' *Études Peloponnesiennes* 6' *AJA* 79 (1975) 161-3
- Genette G, *Figures III* (Paris, 1972)
- Ginouvès R, 'Le Théâtre à gradins droits et l'Odéon d'Argos' *Études Peloponnesiennes* 6 (Paris, 1972)
- Goette HR, 'Griechischer Theaterbau der Klassik-Forschungsstand und Fragestellungen' in *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike*, E Pöhlmann (ed.) (New York, 1995) 9-48
- Goff B, *The Noose of Words: Readings of Desire, Violence & Language in Euripides' Hippolytus* (Cambridge, 1990)
- Gogos S, 'Bühnenarchitektur und Bühnenmalerei' *JOEAI* 54 (1983) 59-86
- Goldhill S, 'Battle narrative and politics in Aeschylus' *Persae*' *JHS* 108 (1988) 189-93
- Goward B, *Telling Tragedy: Narrative technique in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides* (London, 1999)
- Gredley B, 'The Place and Time of Victory: Euripides' *Medea*' *BICS* 34 (1987) 27-39
- , 'Comedy, Tragedy- inevitable distinctions: Response to Taplin' in *Tragedy and the Tragic*, M. S. Silk (ed.) (Oxford, 1996) 203-16
- Green JR, 'Theatre Production: 1971-86' *Lustrum* 31 (1989) 7-95
- , 'On Seeing and Depicting the Theatre in Classical Athens' *GRBS* 32 (1991) 15-50
- , 'Theatre Production: 1987-1995' *Lustrum* 37 (1995) 7-202
- Greengard C, *Theatre in Crisis: Sophocles' Reconstruction of Genre and Politics in Philoktetes* (Amsterdam, 1987)
- Griffin J, 'The social function of Attic tragedy' *CQ* 48 (1998) 39-61
- Griffith M, *The authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge, 1977)

- Grube GM, *The Drama of Euripides* (London, 1941)
- Hall E, *The Hidden Dimension* (New York, 1966)
- Hall E, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford, 1989)
- Halleran MR, *Stagecraft of Euripides* (London and Totowa, 1985)
- Hammond NGL, 'The Conditions of Dramatic Production to the Death of Aeschylus' *GRBS* 13 (1972) 389-450
- , 'Spectacle and Parody in Euripides' *Electra*' *GRBS* 25 (1984) 373-87
- , 'More on Conditions of Production to the Death of Aeschylus' *GRBS* 29 (1988) 5-33
- Hanfmann GMA & Waldbaum JC, 'New Excavations at Sardis and some Problems of Western Anatolian Archaeology' in *Near Eastern archaeology in the 20th century: Essays in honor of Nelson Glueck*, JA Sanders (ed.) (New York, 1970) 307-26
- Harmon AM, 'The scene in Aeschylus' *Persians*' *TAPA* 63 (1932) 7-19
- Harrison T, *The Emptiness of Asia: Aeschylus' Persians and the history of the fifth century* (London, 2000)
- , (ed.) *Greeks and Barbarians* (Edinburgh, 2002)
- Headlam W, 'Ghost-raising, magic, and the underworld' *CR* 16 (1902) 52-61
- Helbo A, (ed.) *Approaching Theatre* (Bloomington, 1991)
- Herzfeld E, *Altpersische Inschriften* (Berlin, 1938)
- Honzl J, 'Dynamics of the Sign in the Theatre' in *Modern theories of drama (a selection of writings on drama and theatre, 1840-1990)*, GW Brandt (ed.) (Oxford, 1998) 269-78
- Hose M, *Studien zur Chor bei Euripides I* (Stuttgart, 1990)
- Hourmouziades N, *Production and Imagination in Euripides, Form and Function of the Scenic space* (Athens, 1965)
- Huxley G, 'Euripides' *Hippolytos* 1120-30' *GRBS* 12 (1971) 331-3
- Imhof M, 'Rezension von Joerden K *Hinterszenischer Raum und außerszenische Zeit*' *Gnomon* 34 (1962) 337-9
- Inoue E, 'Sight, Sound, and Rhetoric: *Philoctetes* 29ff' *AJP* 100 (1979) 217-27
- Ireland S, *Aeschylus* (G&R New Surveys in the Classics 18) (Oxford, 1986)
- Issacharoff M, 'Space and reference in drama' *Poetics Today* 2 (1981) 211-24
- , *Discourse as Performance* (Stanford, 1989)

- Jobst W, *Die Höhle im griechischen Theater des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Wien, 1970)
- Joerden K, *Hinterszenischer Raum und außerszenische Zeit* (Diss.) (Tübingen, 1960)
- , 'Zur Bedeutung des Ausser- und Hinterszenischen' in *Die Bauformen der griechischen Tragödie*, W Jens (ed.) (München, 1971) 369-412
- Johnson FP, 'Review of Anti C, *Teatri Greci arcaici da Minosse a Pericle*' *CP* 45 (1950) 50-3
- Judeich W, *Topographie von Athen* (2nd ed.) (Munich, 1931)
- Kaimio M, *Physical Contact in Greek Tragedy: a study on stage conventions* (Helsinki, 1988)
- Kalligas PG, 'Εργασίαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ Διονύσου' Ελευθερέως" *Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 18 (1963) B1, 12-18
- , 'Η περιοχή του ιεροῦ και του θεάτρου του Διονύσου στην Αθήνα' in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, W Coulson, O Palagia, T Shear, H Shapiro Jr. (eds.) (Oxford, 1994) 25-31
- Kastriotis P, 'Τὸ Ὠδεῖον τοῦ Περικλέους καὶ οἱ ἀνασκαφαὶ κατὰ τὴν ΜΑ Γωνίαν τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως' *Πρακτικά* 1913-15 (1914-16) 81-124
- Katsouris A, *Πρόλογος. Δραματική τεχνική* (Ιωάννινα, 1997)
- Kenner H, *Das Theater und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst* (Wien, 1954)
- Kent RG, 'The Naqs-I- Rostam inscriptions of Darius' *Language* XV (1939) 160-75
- , 'Old Persian Texts VI. Darius' Naqs-I- Rostam B Inscription' *JNES* 4 (1945) 39-52
- , *Old Persian* (2nd ed.) (New Haven, 1953)
- Knox BMW, 'The *Hippolytus* of Euripides' *YCS* 13 (1952) 3-31
- , *Word and Action: Essays on the Ancient Theater* (Baltimore, 1979)
- Kobialka M (ed.), 'Introduction Of Borders and Thresholds' in *Of Borders and Thresholds: Theatre History, Practice, and Theory* (Minneapolis, 1999) 1-29
- Kolb F, *Agora und Theater* (Berlin, 1981)
- Konzeniewski D, 'Studien zu den *Persern* des Aischylos' *Helikon* 6 (1966) 548-96

- Kornarou E, *Laments in Greek tragedy* (unpubl.diss.) (London, 2001)
- Kuntz M, *Narrative Setting and Dramatic Poetry* (Leiden, 1993)
- Lazenby JF, 'Aischylos and Salamis' *Hermes* 116 (1988) 168-85
- Leacroft R and Leacroft H, *Theatre and Playhouse* (London, 1984)
- Lehmann-Hartleben K, 'Steinerne Prohedrieschwelle' in *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, H Bulle (ed.) (München, 1928) 61-3
- Lesky A, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* (3rd ed.) (Bern, 1971)
- Ley G- Ewans M, 'The *Orchestra* as Acting Place in Greek Tragedy' *Ramus* 14 (1985) 75-84
- Ley G, 'A scenic plot of Sophokles' *Ajax* and *Philoktetes*' *Eranos* 86 (1988) 85-115
- Lloyd-Jones H, 'Review of Barrett WS, *Euripides: Hippolytos*' *JHS* 85 (1965) 164-171
- Lloyd-Jones H- Wilson NG, *Sophoclea: Studies on the Text of Sophocles* (Oxford, 1990)
- , *Sophoclea: Second Thoughts Hypomnemata* 100 (Göttingen, 1997)
- Long AA, *Language and Thought in Sophocles* (London, 1968)
- Loraux N, *The invention of Athens: the funeral oration in the classical city* (trans. A. Sheridan) (Cambridge, Mass. 1986)
- , 'Kreousa the Autochthon: A study of Euripides' *Ion*' in *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its social context*, JJ Winkler and F Zeitlin (eds.) (Princeton, 1990) 168-206
- Lowe NJ, 'Greek Stagecraft and Aristophanes' *Themes in Drama* 10 (1988) 33-52
- , *The Classical Plot and the invention of Western Narrative* (Cambridge, 2000)
- Luschnig C, *Time Holds the Mirror: A Study of Knowledge in Euripides' Hippolytus* (Mnemosyne Suppl.102) (Leiden, 1988)
- , 'Interiors: Imaginary Spaces in *Alcestis* and *Medea*' *Mnemosyne* 45 (1992) 19-44
- Lyons J, *Semantics* Vol.I (Cambridge, 1977)
- Mac Donald WA, 'Review of Anti C, *Teatri Greci Arcaici da Minosse a Pericle*' *AJA* 53 (1949) 412-4
- Mahr AC, *The Origin of the Tragic Greek Form* (New York, 1938)

- Malpas J, *Place and Experience* (Cambridge, 1999)
- Markman S D, 'Archaic Greek Theatres: Review of C. Anti, *Teatri Greci Arcaici da Minosse a Pericle*' *CJ* 44 (January 1949) 278-9
- Martin J & Sauter W, *Understanding Theatre: Performance analysis in Theory and Practice* (Stockholm, 1995)
- Mastronarde DJ, 'Actors on High: The *Skene* Roof, the Crane, and the Gods in Attic Drama' *CA* 9 (1990) 247-94
- Matthaei LE, *Studies in Greek tragedy* (Cambridge, 1918)
- Matthiessen K, 'Philoktet oder die Resozialisierung' *WJA N.F.* 7 (1981) 11-26
- McAuley G, *Space in performance: making meaning in the theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1999)
- McLeish K, *The Theatre of Aristophanes* (London, 1980)
- Mehrabian A, *Public Spaces and Private Spaces; the Psychology of Work, Play and Living Environments* (New York, 1976)
- Melchinger S, *Das Theater der Tragödie: Aischylos, Sophocles, Euripides auf der Bühne ihrer Zeit* (München, 1974)
- Melrose S, *A Semiotics of the Dramatic text* (Basingstoke, 1994)
- Miller M, *Athens and Persia in the 5th c. BC. A study in cultural receptivity* (Cambridge, 1997)
- Miller W, 'The Theatre of Thoricus: Preliminary Report' *Papers of the American School IV* (1885-6) 1-10
- Mitens K, *Teatri greci e teatri ispirati all' architettura greca in Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale c.350-50 a.C.* (Roma, 1988)
- Monkhouse FJ, *A Dictionary of Geography* (2nd ed.) (London, 1970)
- Moretti JC, 'The Theater of the Sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus in late fifth-century Athens' *ICS* 24-5 (1999-2000) 377-98
- Muecke F, 'Playing with the Play: theatrical Self-Consciousness in Aristophanes' *Antichthon* 11 (1977) 52-67
- Murfin R- Ray S, *The Bedford Glossary of Critical and Literary Terms* (New York, 1997)
- Murray G, *Aeschylus: The Creator of Tragedy* (Oxford, 1940)
- Mussche HF, *Thorikos: A Guide to the Excavations* (Bruxelles, 1974)
- Musurillo H, 'The problem of lying and deceit and the two voices of Euripides' *Hippolytus* 925-31' *TAPA* 104 (1974) 231-8

- Mylonas G, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1962)
- Newiger HJ, 'Zur Spielstätte des Attischen Dramas im 5 Jahrhundert v. Chr.' *WS* 10 (1976) 80-92
- Nylander C, *Ionians in Pasargadae* (Uppsala, 1970)
- Ober J, *Mass and Elite in democratic Athens: rhetoric, ideology and the power of the people* (Princeton, 1989)
- Olmstead AT, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948)
- Paavolainen P, *Patrice Pavis: A Good Eye for Theatre*, www.teak.fi/teak/ACT/pavislyhyt.html
- Padel R, 'Imagery of the Elsewhere: Two choral songs of the Elsewhere' *CQ* 24 (1974) 227-41
- , 'Making Space Speak' in *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its social context*, JJ Winkler and F Zeitlin (eds.) (Princeton, 1990) 336-65
- Parry H, 'The second *stasimon* of Euripides' *Hippolytus* 732-775' *TAPA* 97 (1966) 317-26
- Paschalis M, 'Σκηνικός και δραματικός χώρος στην *Ελένη* του Ευριπίδη' *Θαλλώ* 12 (2001) 97-107
- Pavis P, *Languages of the Stage: Essays in the Semiology of Theatre* (New York, 1982)
- , *L'analyse des Spectacles* (Paris, 1996)
- , *Dictionary of the theatre: terms, concepts and analysis* (trans. C. Schantz) (Toronto, 1998)
- Pearson M, 'Theatre/Archaeology' *Drama Review* 38 (1994) 133-61
- Peck HT, *Harpers Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (1898) in *Perseus Encyclopaedia* (www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin)
- Pedersen P, *The Maussoleion at Halikarnassos*, vol.3:1 the Maussoleion Terrace (Reports of the Danish Archaeological expedition to Bodrum) (Moesgaard, 1991)
- Petrakos V, *Ο δήμος του Ραμνούντος, σύνοψη των ανασκαφών και των ερευνών 1813-1998 I Τοπογραφία, II Επιγραφές* (Αθήνα, 1999)
- Petrounias E, *Funktion und Thematik der Bilder bei Aischylos* (Hypomnemata 48) (Göttingen, 1976)
- Pfister M, *The Theory and Analysis of Drama* (Cambridge, 1988)
- Pickard-Cambridge AW, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford, 1946)

- , 'Review of Anti C, *Teatri Greci Arcaici da Minosse a Pericle*' *CR* 62 (1948) 125-8
- , *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed., rev. J.Gould & DM Lewis) (Oxford, 1988)
- Pittas-Herschbach M, *Time and Space in Euripides and Racine: the Hippolytos of Euripides and Racine's Phèdre* (American University Studies Series III Comparative Literature vol.32) (New York, 1990)
- Pöhlmann E, 'Die Proedrie des Dionysos-Theaters im 5.Jh. und das Bühnenspiel der Klassik' in *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike*, E Pöhlmann (ed.) (New York, 1995) 49-62
- , 'Der Chor der Tragödie an den Grenzen der Bühnenkonventionen des 5. Jh.' in *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike*, E Pöhlmann (ed.) (New York, 1995) 63-72
- , 'Bühne und Handlung im *Aias* des Sophokles' in *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike*, E Pöhlmann (ed.) (New York, 1995) 107-116
- , 'Sucheszenen auf der attischen Bühne des 5 und 4. Jh. Zur Bühnendichtung der *Eumeniden*, des *Aias*, der *Archaner* und des *Rhesos*' in *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike*, E Pöhlmann (ed.) (New York, 1995) 117-32
- Polacco L, 'L'ingresso del Coro nei 'Persiani' di Eschilo: natura e funzione dei sistemi anapestici' *Dioniso* 55 (1984) 75-88
- , *Il Teatro di Dioniso Eleutereo ad Atene* (Roma, 1990)
- Pollitt JJ, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece* (Cambridge, 1972)
- Raubitschek AE, 'A Note on the *Philoktetes* (1402)' in *Studies in Honour of TBL Webster Vol.I*, J.H. Betts, J.T.Hooker and J.R.Green (eds.) (Bristol, 1986) 198-99
- Read L du S, 'Social space in ancient theatres' *New Theatre Quarterly* 36 (1993) 316-28
- Reckford K, 'Phaethon, Hippolytus and Aphrodite' *TAPA* 103 (1972) 405-32
- , 'Phaedra and Pasiphae: The Pull Backward' *TAPA* 104 (1974) 307-28
- Rees K, 'The *parodoi* in the Greek theater' *AJP* 32 (1911) 377-402
- Rehm R, 'The Staging of Suppliant Plays' *GRBS* 29 (1988) 263-307
- , *Greek Tragic Theatre* (London & New York, 1992)

- , *Marriage to Death: the Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek tragedy* (Princeton, 1994)
- , 'Public Spaces, Private voices: Euripides' *Suppliant Women* and Sophokles' *Elektra* in *Sophocles' 'Electra' in Performance, Drama* (Beiträge zum antiken Drama und seiner Rezeption) Band 4, F.M. Dunn (ed.), (Stuttgart, 1996) 49-61
- , 'The Play of Space: Before, Behind, and Beyond in Euripides' *Heracles*' *ICS* 24-5 (1999-2000) 363-75
- , *The Play of Space: Spatial Transformations in Greek tragedy* (Princeton, forthcoming 2002)
- Richter G, *Perspective in Greek and Roman art* (London and New York, 1970)
- Rimmon-Kenan S, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London and New York, 1983)
- Roach J, 'Territorial Passages: Time, Place, and Action' in *Of Borders and Thresholds: Theatre History, Practice, and Theory*, M Kobialka (ed.) (Minneapolis, 1999) 110-24
- Robinson DB, 'Topics in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*' *CQ* 19 (1969) 34-56
- Rosenmeyer TG, *The Art of Aeschylus* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1982)
- Rumpf A, 'Classical and post-classical Greek painting' *JHS* 67 (1947) 10-21
- Russo CF, *Aristophanes: An Author for the Stage* (London & New York, 1994)
- Sauter W, *The Theatrical Event: Dynamics of Performance and Perception* (Iowa, 2000)
- Schechner R, *Performance theory* (rev. and exp. ed.) (London & New York, 1988)
- Schmidt EF, *Persepolis III. The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments* (Chicago, 1970)
- Scolnicov H, 'Theatre space, theatrical space, and the theatrical space without' *Themes in Drama* 9 (1987) 11-26
- , *Woman's theatrical space* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Scullion JS, *Three Studies in Athenian Dramaturgy* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 25) (Stuttgart, 1994)
- Scully S, 'Orchestra and Stage in Sophocles' *Syllecta Classica* 10 (1999) 65-86
- Seale D, *Vision and Stagecraft in Sophocles* (London, 1982)

- Sebeok TA, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Semiotics* (= Approaches to Semiotics; 73) (Berlin, NY, 1986)
- Segal C, 'The tragedy of the *Hippolytus*: the waters of Ocean and the untouched meadow' *HSCP* 70 (1965) 117-69
- , 'The Order of Lines in *Hippolytus* 1452-56' *GRBS* 11 (1970) 101-107
- , 'Curse and Oath in Euripides' *Hippolytus*' *Ramus* 1 (1972) 165-80
- , 'Synaesthesia in Sophokles' *ICS* 2 (1977) 88-96
- , 'Solar Imagery and Tragic Heroism in Euripides' *Hippolytus*' in *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M.W. Knox*, GM Bowerstock, W Burkert, and MCJ Putnam (eds.) (Berlin and NY, 1979) 151-61
- , *Tragedy and Civilisation. An interpretation of Sophocles* (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1981)
- , 'Greek Myth as a Semiotic System and the Problem of Tragedy' *Arethusa* 16 (1983) 173-198
- , 'Confusion and Concealment in Euripides' *Hippolytus*: Vision, Hope and tragic knowledge' *Metis* 3 (1988) 263-82
- , *Euripides and The Poetics of Sorrow* (Durham, 1993)
- , 'Catharsis, Audience, and Closure in Greek Tragedy' in *Tragedy and the Tragic*, M. S. Silk (ed.), (Oxford, 1996) 149-172
- Seiler F, *Die Griechische Tholos* (Mainz am Rhein, 1997)
- Sider D, 'Atossa's second entrance: significant inaction in Aeschylus' *Persai*' *AJP* 104 (1983) 188-191
- Silk M, 'Style, Voice and Authority in the Choruses of Greek Drama' in *Der Chor im antiken und modernen Drama, Drama* (Beiträge zum antiken Drama und seiner Rezeption) Band 7, P Riemer & B Zimmermann (eds.) (Stuttgart, 1999) 1-26
- Simon E, *The Ancient theatre* (trans. CE Vafopoulou- Richardson) (London, 1982)
- Simon E- Otto B, 'Eine neue Rekonstruktion der Würzburger Skenographie' *AA* 88 (1973) 121-31
- Slater NW, 'The Lenaean theatre' *ZPE* 66 (1986) 255-64
- , 'From ancient performance to new historicism' in *Intertextualität in der griechisch- römischen Komödie, Drama* (Beiträge zum antiken Drama und

- seiner Rezeption) Band 2, NW Slater und B Zimmermann (eds.) (Stuttgart, 1993) 1-13
- Small J-Witherick M, *A Modern Dictionary of Geography* (3rd ed.) (London, 1995)
- Smith W, 'Review of *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike* E Pöhlmann (ed.)' *CR* 47 (1997) 257-8
- Sommerstein A, 'Five notes on Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (147: 271-284: 705: 782ff.: 1075) and one on his *Oedipus Tyrannus* (603-4)' *LCM* 7.3 (1982) 34-5
- , 'Notes on Euripides' *Hippolytus*' *BICS* 35 (1988) 23-41
- , *Aeschylean tragedy* (Bari, 1996)
- Spivey N, *Greek Art* (London, 1997)
- States BO, *Great Reckonings in Little Rooms: On the Phenomenology of Theater* (Berkeley, 1985)
- Stillwell R, *Corinth: the theatre* (Princeton, 1952)
- Stoessl F, *Die Vorgeschichte des griechischen Theaters* (Hain: Königstein/Ts., 1985)
- Sutton D, *The Greek Satyr Play* (Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 90) (Meisenheim. Heim, 1980)
- Svebrny S, *Critica et Exegetica in Aeschylum* (Towarz. Nauk w Toruniu, Prace Wyd. Filol.-filoz. II. I.) (Torun, 1959) 14-20
- Taplin OP, 'Significant Actions in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*' *GRBS* 12 (1971) 25-44
- , 'Aeschylean silences and silences in Aeschylus' *HSCP* 76 (1972) 57-97
- , *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford, 1977)
- , *Greek tragedy in action* (London, 1978)
- , 'Sophocles in his Theatre' in *Sophocle* (Fondation Hardt Entretiens 29) (1983) 155-83
- , 'Fifth-century tragedy and comedy: a *Synkrisis*' *JHS* 106 (1986) 163-74
- , 'The Mapping of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*' *BICS* 34 (1987) 69-77
- , 'Spazio e messa in scena in Sofocle' *Dioniso* 59 (1989) 103-5
- , *Comic Angels* (Oxford, 1993)
- Thalmann W, 'Xerxes' rags: some problems in Aeschylus' *Persians*' *AJP* 101 (1980) 260-82

- Tourraix A, 'Les Perses, la Géopolitique et l'Histoire' in *Les Perses d'Eschyle= Cahiers du Gita* 7, P.Ghiron-Bistagne, A.Moreau, and J-C Turpin (eds.) (Montpellier, 1992/3) 99-117
- Travlos JN, 'Τὸ ἀνάκτορον τῆς Ἐλευσίνοσ' ' *Εφημ.*(1950-1) 1-16
- , *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York, 1971)
- Trendall AD- Webster TBL, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London, 1971)
- Tuan Y, 'Space and Context' in *By Means of Performance*, R.Schechner & W.Appel (eds.) (Cambridge, 1990) 236-44
- Tzakhou- Alexandri O, 'Excavations of the theatre at Trachones, Attica' *Πρακτικά* (1980) 64-7
- Ubersfeld A, *Lire le théâtre I* (Paris, 1977)
- , *Lire le théâtre II: L' école du spectateur* (2nd ed., Paris, 1996)
- , *Reading Theatre (I)* (trans. F. Collins) (Toronto, 1999)
- Valakas K, 'Περιγραφή του δραματικού χώρου: ο εισαγωγικός λόγος του Παιδαγωγού στην *Ηλέκτρα* του Σοφοκλή' *Acta 1st Panhellenic and International Conference on Ancient Greek Literature* (Athens, 1997) 285-309
- Vallois R, 'Le theatre de Tegee' *BCH* 50 (1926) 135-69
- Van Erp Taalman Kip M, *Reader and Spectator, Problems in the Interpretation of Greek tragedy* (Amsterdam, 1990)
- Van Looy H, 'Review of *Die Bauformen der griechischen Tragödie*' *AC* 42 (1973) 210-13
- Vernant J-P and Vidal-Naquet P, *Myth and Tragedy in ancient Greece* (trans. J. Lloyd) (New York, 1988)
- Von Möllendorff P, 'Aristophanes und der komische Chor auf der Bühne des 5.Jh.' in *Studien zur Bühnendichtung und zum Theaterbau der Antike*, E Pöhlmann (ed.) (New York, 1995) 143-154
- Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff U, 'Die Bühne des Aischylos' *Hermes* 21 (1886) 597-622
- Walton JM, *Greek Theatre Practice* (Westport, 1980)
- , *The Greek Sense of Theatre* (Methuen, 1984)
- Webster TBL, *Greek Theatre Production* (London, 1956)
- , 'Staging and Scenery in the ancient Greek theatre' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1960) 493-509

- , *Griechische Bühnenaltertümer* (Göttingen, 1963)
- West ML 'The Prometheus Trilogy' *JHS* 99 (1979) 130-48
- , 'Tragica IV' *BICS* 27 (1980) 9-22
- , *Studies in Aeschylus* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 1) (Stuttgart, 1990) [1990b]
- Whitley J, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 2001)
- Wiles D, *Tragedy in Athens: Performance space and theatrical meaning* (Cambridge, 1997)
- , *Greek Theatre Performance* (Cambridge, 2000)
- Wilson P- Taplin O, 'Aetiology of tragedy in the *Oresteia*' *PCPS* 39 (1993) 169-80
- Winnington-Ingram RP, 'Euripides: *Poietes Sophos*' *Arethusa* 2 (1969) 129-42
- Winter FE, 'The Stage of New Comedy' *Phoenix* 37 (1983) 38-47
- Woodhouse WJ, 'The Scenic Arrangements of the *Philoktetes* of Sophocles' *JHS* 32 (1912) 239-49
- Wurster WW, 'Die Architektur des griechischen Theaters' *Antike Welt* 24 (1993) 20-42
- Wycheley RE, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton, 1978)
- Yaari N, 'Anchoring Thebes: Defining Place and Space in Ancient Greek Theatre' *Drama* 3 (1995) 94-110 [1995a]
- , 'Tragedy as Performance: The mise-en-espace of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*', *Assaph* C 11 (1995) www.tau.ac.il/arts/publications/ASSAPHTH11/YAARI.html [1995b]
- Zeitlin F, 'Playing the other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama' *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its social context*, JJ Winkler and F Zeitlin (eds.) (Princeton, 1990) 63-96
- , 'Thebes: theater of self and society in Athenian drama' in *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its social context*, JJ Winkler and F Zeitlin (eds.) (Princeton, 1990) 130-67
- , 'The Power of Aphrodite: Eros and the Boundaries of the Self in Euripides' *Hippolytos*' in *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature* (Chicago, 1996) 219-84